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Between Branding and Identity, Re-imaging Historic Cairo

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Between Branding and Identity, Re-imaging Historic Cairo

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Amira El Hakeh

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Abstract

As an effect of globalization, many historic city centers in the developing world were subject to great transformation. The greater the turbulence caused by this transformation, the greater the need to connect to cultural heritage as an assertion of identity. The research addresses the role of place branding in conserving the heritage of Historic Cairo, which historic fabric deteriorated to the extent that it has irretrievably lost its authentic character due to neglect and mismanagement. It questions how can both; place branding and heritage conservation find a common ground for the assertion of the place identity and delivering an authentic place image. The research analyzes the Historic Cairo Brand and investigates the process of transformation that occurred in two perspectives of the brand: the place identity and the perceived place image. This analysis is done through monitoring place image change from the year 1986 to the year 2016 following the inclusion of Historic Cairo on the World Heritage List in 1979. Proceeding this date, the area witnessed various scattered interventions within its historic boundaries. The study argues that there is a need for an integrated framework that encompasses heritage conservation and place branding towards a common goal which is assertion of the place identity. After four decades of various forms of interventions, the perceived Historic Cairo image by its local community is investigated. The role of local residents in the assertion of the place identity is crucial to deliver an authentic brand image to the external audience and reduce the gap between the place identity and the place image based on a bottom up approach.

Zusammenfassung

Als Folge der Globalisierung sind viele historische Innenstädte in Entwicklungsländern städtischen Transformation unterworfen. Je größer die baulichen und sozialen Veränderungen sind, desto größer ist das Bedürfnis, im kulturellen Erbe Identität zu finden. Die vorliegende Forschungsarbeit befasst sich mit der Rolle des Place Branding bei Erhaltung des gebauten Erbes im historischen Zentrum Kairos, dessen historischer Baubestand in einem so schlechten Zustand ist, dass der authentische Charakter unwiderruflich durch Vernachlässigung oder Missmanagement verloren gegangen ist. Es stellt sich die Frage, wie es gelingen kann, dass Place Branding und Heritage Conservation eine gemeinsame Basis für die Place Identity bilden und authentisches Stadtbild bewahren. Die vorliegende Forschungsarbeit analysiert den Brand des historischen Kairos und untersucht den Transformationsprozess, der in zwei Seiten der Marke aufzeigt: die Identität des Ortes und das wahrgenommene Stadtbild. Diese Analyse erfolgt durch ein Monitoring der Veränderungen im Stadtbild von 1986 bis 2016, nachdem 1979 das historische Zentrum von Kairo in die Liste des Weltkulturerbes aufgenommen wurde. In direkter Folge zur Aufnahme in diesen Status können viele, verschiedene Eingriffe innerhalb der historischen Grenzen beobachtet werden. Die Studie argumentiert, dass ein Bedarf an einem integrierten Rahmen besteht, der die Erhaltung des Kulturerbes und das Branding von Orten in Richtung eines gemeinsamen Ziels umfasst, das die Behauptung der Identität des Ortes ist. Nach vier Jahrzehnten unterschiedlicher Interventionen wird das auch in der lokalen Gemeinschaft wahrgenommene Bild des historischen Zentrums von Kairo untersucht. Die Rolle der Anwohner bei der Durchsetzung der Ortsidentität ist entscheidend, um dem externen Publikum ein authentisches Bild zu vermitteln und die Kluft zwischen der Identität des Ortes und dem Stadtbild in einem Bottom-up-Ansatz zu schließen.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION



Fig1-1 Al Darb Al Asfar Alley.Source:Author

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Between Branding and Identity: Re-Imaging Historic Cairo Between 1985-2016

“The preservation of heritage not only contributes to the state of health of the built environment but also crucially to community and cultural identity and helps ‘to define the character of a place’” (*Renewal.net*, 2005).

1.1 Background

During the last three decades, globalization played an important role in triggering global competitiveness among places, cities, regions and nations. Cities and places are competing to position themselves on the global map and create a positive image among the different stakeholders as a way to attract investment and achieve social and economic development (Kalandides, Kavaratzis & Boisen , 2012). As a result of this competition, both place marketing and place branding have gained academic and practical importance within the last decades (Baker & Cameron, 2008). Within the context of the developing world, city authorities are looking for different ways to improve their place image. However, their intentions vary widely between promotions to place making catalyst (Rebanks Consulting Ltd , 2009).

With the beginning of the year 1990 there was a global redefinition of cultural heritage, this definition was directed towards perceiving heritage as an economic resource (Fredholm,2015). This concept became an integrated perspective in heritage management plans. Conservation groups and worldwide development organizations formed a new trans-national industry, supporting the “harvesting” of the economic value of heritage resources (Silberman, 2012; Peacock and Rizzo, 2008; Graham, 1994). Tourism is seen as the major co-modification force that is responsible for transforming culture into a product (Hewison, 1987). This use of cultural heritage raises questions about the sustainability of these area developments and the conservation of its both tangible and intangible heritage values.

Following the 2003 UNESCO convention for safeguarding the intangible heritage, a shift in conservation assessment and heritage management occurred. This shift acknowledged the need towards integrating local values into the conservations plans. Recognizing the fact that heritage assessment should comprise both the tangible and the intangible. This change towards the intangible expressions of the place focuses on

valuing the heritage site through not only the built heritage but the daily activities in people life and the meanings they associate with their place (Andrews and Buggy, 2008).

However, in the middle of this laborious competition and the need to acquire fast sources of revenues, a common controversy might occur between the constructed place images by heritage authorities to that of the lived space by its local community. This social dimension of the place image has been discussed in previous work (Lefebvre, 1991). In Historic Cairo where various forms of conservation strategies are introduced, this effect needs to be investigated from the internal perspective. With a focus on the application of branding strategies within heritage sites, place branding needs to be “lived” by the people who call the place home (Anholt, 2008). Furthermore, evidence from literature shows that internal place branding strategies that take residents into account and prioritize resident’s quality of life are effective in boosting place image and projecting a better reputation (Middleton, 2011). Both activities: heritage conservation and place branding seem to work towards an important goal which is the attainment of the place identity (Ashworth & Kavaratzis, 2009). This attainment will therefore have its impacts on the perceived image of the place and therefore its reputation.

In recent branding literature, branding is no more treated as marketing exercise but is now integrated within the aspects of place management. Place brands are also brand identities. The role of identities is to reflect the existing place characteristics to be counted as authentic. The city brand tells a story of the society from the bottom up. Yet, when the brand is fixed it imposes an image on the place. As a result, the place branding can become a sort of a visionary exercise performed by the place branding authorities (Lanfant, 1995; Leonard, 1997). This approach may lead to the destruction of the original place image and bring societal changes in a particular direction.

On the contrary, place branding can bring societal changes that are appreciated by residents. In addition to reflecting society and telling its story a role of a city brand identity is to have a role in shaping society (Dinnie, 2011).

From the perspective defining “a brand” as a collection of enduring intangible values in the eyes of the consumer (Southgate, 1994); if we were to apply this definition on

place brand and specifically place brand based on heritage foundation such as the world heritage designation; important challenges are to be highlighted: First, heritage cannot be inclusive and a comprehensive past cannot be presented. Therefore, how can the place depend on heritage as a starting point and then pursue a new direction towards social and economic upgrade. Second, in order to evaluate the historic place brand, it is important to identify the collection of the enduring heritage values that remained significant through time. The identification of these values is critical to attain an authentic place brand. However, highlighting these values is a difficult procedure as there are many kinds of values (Social, cultural, economic, aesthetic and more...). In addition, these values change with time and are shaped by their contextual surrounding (Mason, 2002). Third, the existing of multiple stakeholders and therefore different perceptions of the brand. City and place branding encompasses complexities that surpasses those of product and services branding, which originates from the diversity of its stakeholders (Virgo & de Chernatony, 2006). The difference between stakeholder's perceptions should be taken into accounts within place branding strategies. Residents are among stakeholders' groups that are always neglected by city authorities, despite their important role in shaping the city brand (Kalandides, Braun, Kavaratzis, & Zenker, 2013). This internal stakeholder group constitute a fundamental part of the heritage brand which encompasses these values within its daily life.

These challenges stands clear within the context of the developing world. In general the application of city branding within many countries and cities in the developing world followed an approach that caused a bad reputation to the practice. As a result place branding is seen by many academics and urban planners within this context as a mean to transform the place and its elements into products (Fredholm, 2015). The main target is to attract foreign capitals to attain political significance with a total neglect for different stakeholders of the place brand and specifically the residents who are experiencing the place daily. This approach resulted in the formation of a gap between the place identity and its perceived image "The brand" and the projection of a falsified brand.

Controversially, Simon Anholt discussed the role of place branding in supporting the developing countries and achieving social and economic upgrade in his book "Brand

New Justice". He argues that both place and product branding constitute a mean to attain and distribute wealth. His empirical studies proved the ability of the branding concept to alter a place reputation. Additionally, he stressed on the element of culture as a revenue earner (Anholt, 2005). Moreover, a considerable amount of publications acknowledged the important role that heritage and culture play in place branding and the formation of a collective identity of the place (Ashworth and Kavaratzis, 2011; Ashworth and Larkham 1994; Fan,2014; Anholt,2005).

Drawn from this argument, the research examines the effect of the adoption of branding strategies that is based on heritage foundation on the perceived image of Historic Cairo by its local residents. In addition it is necessary to monitor the gap between the place identities on the perceived image of the place and highlight the issues that limit the practice of place branding in the developing countries. The research aims to explore the relationship between heritage conservation and place branding. It means to investigate how branding practices that is based on heritage foundation can affect the place image. It is noted that "the preservation of heritage not only contributes to the state of health of the built environment but also crucially to community and cultural identity and helps to define the character of a place" (Tweed & Sutherland, 2007). A longitudinal study is performed to monitor the evolution of the perceived place image in contrast with various image building and urban conservation projects that were performed in the area within this timeline. The focus is on identifying patterns of changes in place identity and image of Historic Cairo from the resident's perspective.

1.2 Problem Statement

Over the past three decades ,place branding through historical and cultural heritage has become an important consideration for Egyptian cities to project their place brands. Relying on its rich cultural heritage, heritage managers perceived heritage as a valuable element in Egypt branding (Shehayeb,2009). The rapid urbanization in Cairo has led to many of the younger generation from Historic Cairo to move away to other districts seeking better living conditions and new jobs away from their traditional activities they inherited from their families (Zagaow, 2011).

Within the study time frame, Cairo witnessed profound changes in its urban identity, and its planning concepts turned into modern values. Historic Cairo residents were subject to this sudden spatial transformation. In parallel the past values they acquired into this Historic environment changed. Consequently, many historic and cultural elements of the historic district have been subject to deterioration and neglect and the existing heritage management plan is unable to face many difficulties surrounding the heritage property.

This situation changed with the designation of Historic Cairo as a world heritage property in 1979. The world heritage brand opened the opportunity for a better site management through the proposition and the application of various action plans within the historic boundaries under both National and International organizations supervision. The application of the heritage branding approach was an attempt to conserve the heritage and foster tourism investments within the historic city. However the early conservation approaches have focused more on built heritage and gave less attention to less tangible values.

This underlines the need for more consideration to be given to the identification of the place brand elements. Inspecting the image elements should be done through a bottom up approach that respects the values perceived by the local community. Following this course of actions brings about the generation of an authentic brand image that communicates better to the external audience .Place branding within small-scale heritage context requires building a local brand identity to differentiate the place among others (Fan, 2014). Reviewing the method of identifying and utilizing local heritage is therefore an important step towards building a strong brand. The research explores how the branding of small scale heritage sites was applied in Egypt and proposes a method to evaluate the heritage brand that can be useful to other Arab and Middle Eastern contexts.

An evaluation Model that is designed specifically for the Egyptian context will be applied on Historic Cairo. The model is derived from the place brand perception model by Sebastian Zenker (Zenker, 2009) and modified to be applied on place brands that are founded on local heritage assets. Three major perspectives of the historic Cairo brand will be evaluated: place identity, perceived place image and

projected place image. The research will also address the main problems facing the branding process of Historic Cairo.

1.3 Research Focus

The following statement of Ashworth is used as a research starting point “history, that is the occurrences of the past, is widely used to fulfill a number of modern functions, one of which is shaping socio-cultural place identities”(Ashworth & Voogd, 1994). Governments in all spatial scales consider heritage an important and fundamental asset for the invention and management of collective identity and reputation of the place (Ashworth & Kavaratzis, 2009). The case of Egypt can clarify this point; where the communicated place brand has its roots in the collective identity. The branding of Egypt as a country relies heavily on the country heritage assets. Most of the place branding campaigns organized by the ministry of tourism or antiquities or travel agencies attempt to build on the local heritage to foster the feeling of identity shared by internal audience and promoted to the external world as a significant asset.

In the Anholt Nation Brand Index 2008 Egypt ranked number one in the area of cultural heritage. Following a survey of 28,000 consumers all over the world; Egypt cultural heritage was perceived as its major strongpoint's (Anholt, 2008). Nevertheless, there is a substantial lack of empirical research in heritage associated place branding and particularly within the context of developing nations. While there were some empirical studies within the North American, European and Asians context, there has been limited focus on branding in Africa and the Middle East. Moreover, most of the undergone research focuses on tourism and external stakeholders and pays little attention to the internal audience of the place and their perceptions of the place values.

Within the Egyptian context, the concept of the historic city has been always looked to architectural highlight and built heritage. Governmental and private Tour agencies in Egypt consider heritage and monuments the backbone of tourism. Especially the world heritage sites such as the Great Pyramids of Giza, the City of Thebes, Abu Simbel and Historic Cairo. Historic Cairo has been designated as a world Heritage site since 1979. The historic center of Cairo is considered the world largest medieval

urban system where traditional lifestyles are still alive in daily practices (Sedky, 2009). The World Heritage Brand came as a witness of its "outstanding universal value"¹. Following its designation, numerous interventions took place within the area. These interventions evolved from pure area conservation and the restoration of individual monuments or a cluster of monuments to a wider frame that encompasses attempts of social and economic upgrade. Moreover, there is a considerable number of projects and action plans that remains as pilot studies without implementation.

Despite this international significance, the old city is currently exposed to various social and economic problems. Like various similar city centers around the globe, this was a result of the changes of traditional lifestyles and cultural views. One of the main challenges facing the historic context that is mentioned before is its diverse stakeholders and their various perceptions and identifications of cultural heritage values. Sedky Identifies three stakeholders groups within Historic Cairo whom perceptions and goals can be conflicting: 1-The local community who are expecting to use the old city with its traditional lifestyle, 2- The Worldwide Group comprising international organizations and individuals and who are willing to save the international cultural heritage and 3- The Egyptian Government which controls major decisions about area conservation(Sedky, 2009).

Although the local community constitutes an important group in forming the place image, this group has suffered from marginalization and their perceptions of their local environments have not been considered by the other two groups. This is a result of the state-centered political model in Egypt and other Arab-Islamic countries where the government only defines and solves social problems(Grindle & Thomas, 1989). Many interventions conducted by the national group focus on superficial conservation. The target is more oriented towards sanitizing the old fabric overlooking the subjective qualities of the site and the district distinctive value (Ahmed, Farouk, & Kamel, (1978-)(1996)).

¹The 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention highlighted that for a site to be inscribed on the World Heritage List must possess "an outstanding universal value" (UNESCO 1992). Even though today the definition of the "universal value" of World Heritage sites is still only vaguely discussed or evaluated (Pomeroy 2005), it is clear from the recently defined ten criteria that issues of cultural values, human traditions, and social/historic significance are of high priority.

The use of the past to brand the future should be relying on satisfying the needs of individuals. The place brand is supposed to foster in local population and communicate to the external audience (Ashworth & Kvaratzis, 2011) . A deep look into the government approach shows that the priority is given to technical matters over a comprehensive approach that includes all elements of the place including the people. The echo of the various interventions following its designation on the perceived image of the site and specifically from the local perspective has not been tackled.

In this context the research sets its focus. In the correlation between place branding and heritage conservation, with the various challenges that accompany their application within the developing world. It suggests the translation of heritage values (perceived by internal stakeholders) into place brand elements that can be used to foster place identity and inspecting the gap between the place identity and its perceived image. Historic Cairo is assumed to be an appropriate case study to investigate this relationship. The findings of this study will inspire policy makers, urban planners, civil society and citizens to inspect the role of place branding in heritage conservation and achieve an evaluation model to join both practices and direct them towards the assertion of place identity.

1.4 Conceptual Framework

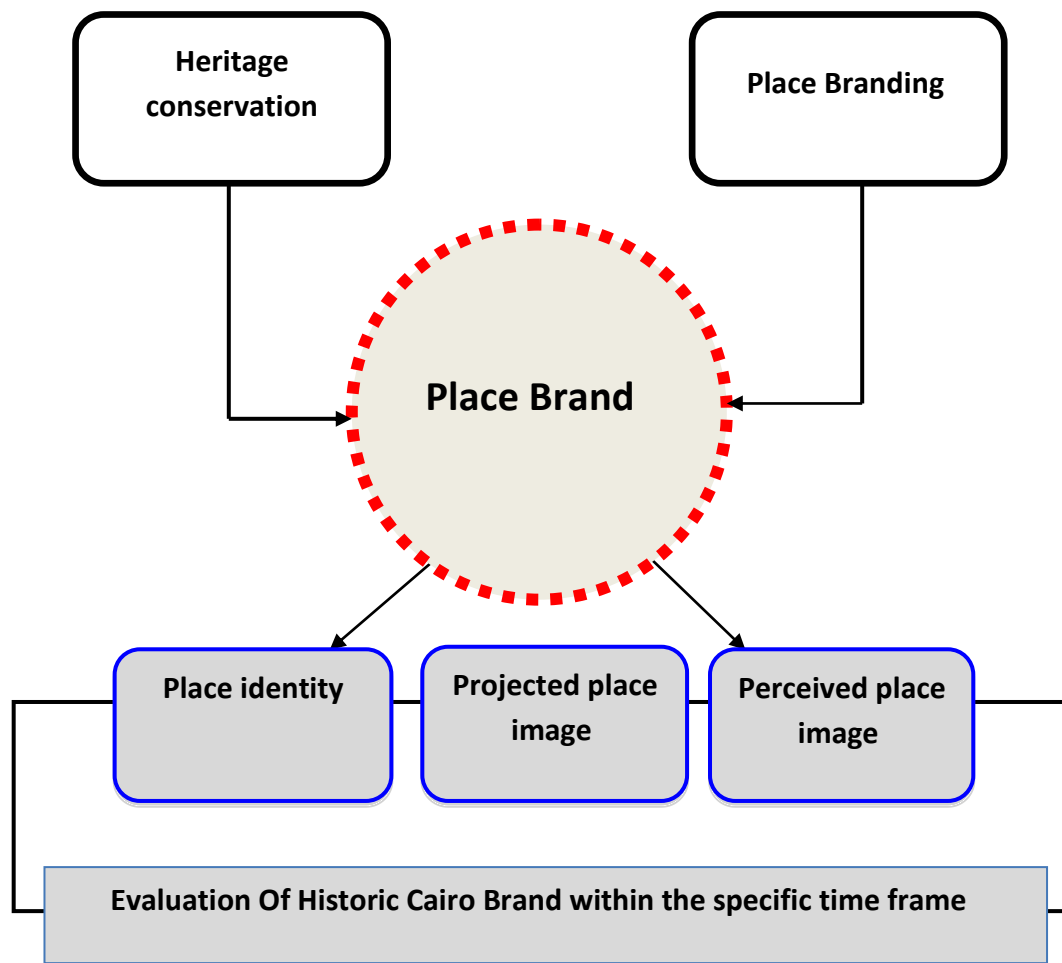


Diagram 1.1 Conceptual Framework of the research. By author

The research focuses on the transformation that occurred in the Historic Cairo image within the specific time frame between 1985 and 2016. It addresses the perceived changes that resulted from place branding and urban conservation interventions and aims to analyze the changing patterns of three major perspectives: the place identity, the perceived place image and the projected place image.

1.5 Purpose of the Study

The research discusses a method developed to observe the changes that occurred in Historic Cairo brand image after more than thirty years of acquiring the world heritage brand. The aim of this work is to evaluate Historic Cairo Brand after three decades of changes in its physical and social environment following the interventions

that occurred in three Qisms² within Historic Cairo boundaries. It mainly focuses on the effect of physical interventions on the place image. It investigates how the values of the old city were adapted to modern life and proposes the merging of the traditional values with the modern life to propose new brand elements that could help in adopting a brand strategy that respects social and cultural values of the local community.

The place brand analysis is conducted based on the analysis of three perspectives: the place identity, perceived place image and the projected place image. Place image analysis and monitoring the changes that occurred in the place brand represents a strategic tool that can identify the internal elements that remains of value from the local perspective and that can be translated into external place brand elements. This evaluation model can be later translated into the decision making process. In addition, this evaluation model contributes in the alignment of both conservation and place brand strategies.

Historic Cairo World Heritage Site provides an interesting case study that can take part in the current discussions around the conflicts between urban conservations and place branding and therefore, help in a better understanding of the interconnection between both practices . The research should reach this objective by investigating the following minor objectives:

- a) Study the evolution of the Historic Cairo Brand and the motives behind the interventions that followed the designation, from an exclusive focus on preservation to awareness of the broader need to manage the WHS brand in a manner that takes into account the needs of diverse stakeholders and specifically the local community.
- b) Identify heritage values ascribed by residents of the Historic city.
- c) Translate perceived heritage values into Historic Cairo brand elements.
- d) Develop a base for directing the challenges caused by place branding practices within the context of the developing world.
- e) Attain an evaluation model for Historic Cairo Brand.

• ²The Qism(equivalent to district) is the smallest local unit in urban communities in Egypt, they differ from one governorate to another in terms of size and population and political circumstances ,they can be further divided into sub district called "Shiakhas".

1.6 Significance of the Study

The study presents a better understanding of place branding. It highlights the relationship between heritage conservation and branding and suggests how both can be linked to attain social and economic development based on the reinforcement of place identity. The study fills a knowledge gap in the area of place branding and its applications in heritage context and specifically the developing world with its challenging social and economic conditions. It attempts to generate an evaluation tool that works within this specific context and that can be a start for further studies within wider contexts.

1.7 Hypothesis and Research Questions

The research is based on the following research hypothesis:

- a) From one side, many city authorities within the developing world see heritage as an important element of place branding strategies. It is relied on as an important tool to achieve social and economic development for the living community and as a place making catalyst. From the other side, place users and specifically residents and workers can develop different perceptions of the place brand. Brand perception varies between place identity catalysts or in contrast a destructor of the place heritage values. Both The motives behind the brand and the degree of inclusion of residents within the brand strategy determine the outcomes.
- b) The sustainable Place Brand should follow the concept of the “umbrella brand”; in which the place brand links between the values of the past and the values of the future. This forms an authentic Brand and avoids the formation of an imposed brand that does not connect to the place identity.

Based on the previous hypotheses the research revolves around the following main points:

- The Interconnection between the both practice of heritage conservation and place branding.
- Evaluating the link between the changes in the place identity and in contrast the

changes in place image.

- The role of residents as part of the place brand.

Therefore, the in-depth case study analysis within three main Qisms of Historic Cairo is meant to answer the following research questions:

- Regarding the interconnection between heritage conservation and place branding; how can heritage be used as a tool to put forward the place image and to which extent does the use of heritage as a foundation for the place brand can achieve socio-cultural objectives and cultivate place attachment and civic pride.
- Regarding the evaluation of the link between place identity and place image; how can the changes in both be monitored and correlated?
- Regarding the role of residents as part of the place brand: How can the perceived heritages values of residents be translated into brand elements?

1.8 Methodology

In order to answer the research questions a mixed approach methodology is conducted in order to capture a comprehensive pictures of the changes that occurred within the specific study zone through the time frame between the years 1985 and 2016. Reaching a method to analyze the historic Cairo Brand is reached through an in depth study of previous literature that encountered the evaluation of the place brand and its application within Historic districts that will be discussed in details in chapter four.

Consequently, the analysis of the place brand is done through a mixed method methodology by the analysis of three perspectives of the brand: the first perspective is the place identity and this is done through a descriptive case study of historic Cairo and the different intervention that occurred in the form of physical changes within the last three decades. It aims in identifying the past and the present characteristics and meanings that are shared by the local community. The second perspective is perceived place image, the aim is to identify local community impressions of Historic Cairo and investigate their attitudes towards the longitudinal changes. This is done through a mix method combining qualitative and quantitative method: four focus group interviews of local community representatives including (Students, workers,

housewives and residents). In addition to this qualitative study, a questionnaire was implemented during the month of December 2016-January 2017 with 500 households of Historic Cairo to determine the residents perception of the place image and their attitudes towards the changes. The methodological approach is discussed in details in chapter four.

The methodological approach is presented in (diagram 1-2) as follows:

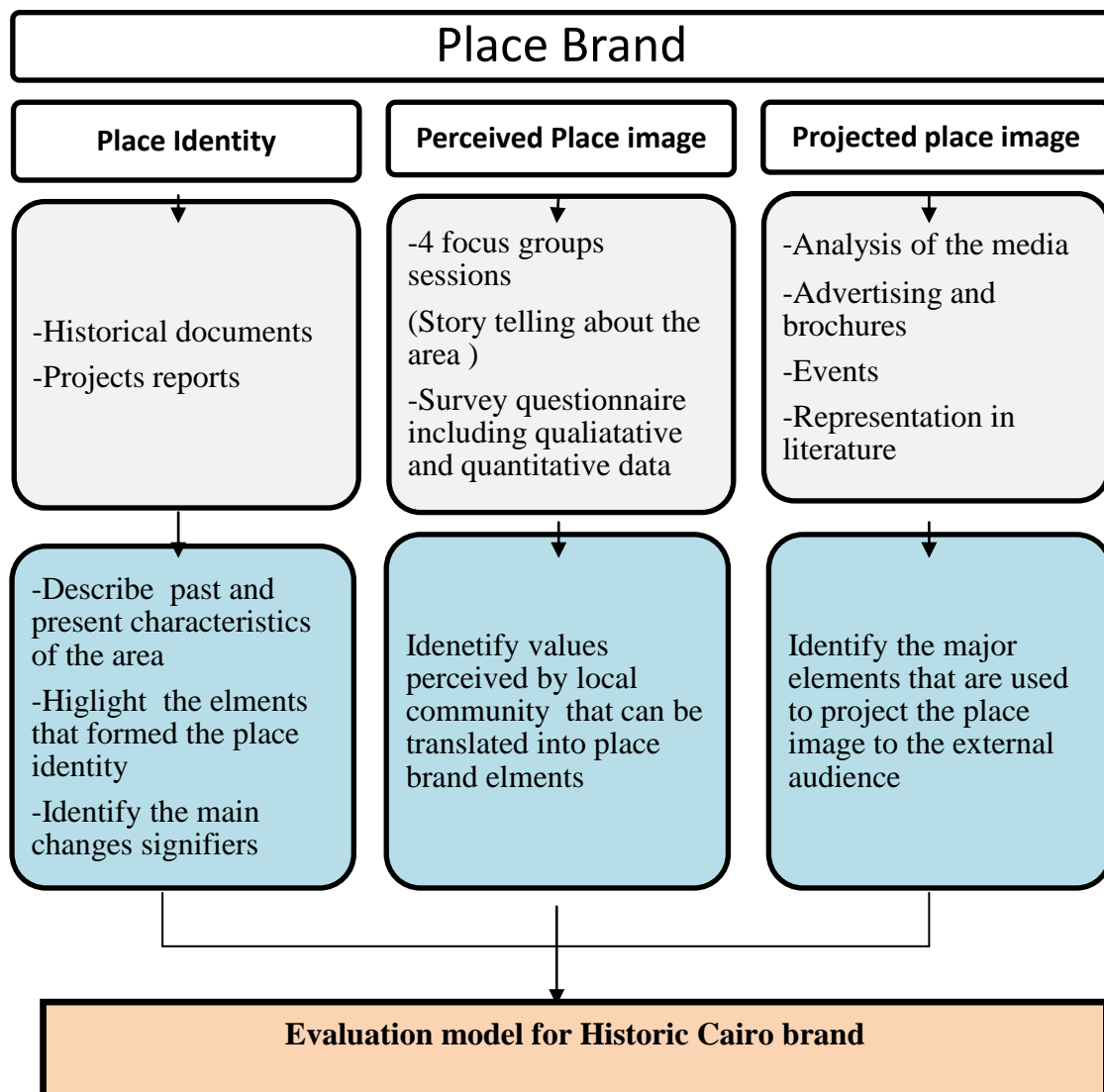


Diagram 1.2 Research methodological approach

1.9 Data Sources

The research is based on secondary and primary data sources in order to obtain in depth analysis of the Historic Cairo image. The secondary data include content analysis of official reports and planning documents obtained from UNESCO-URHC Project, AKDN Egypt, Ministry of Tourism, Ministry of Antiquities, CAPMAS and Cairo Governorate. The secondary data are obtained from journal articles and official websites.

Method	Data	Duration	Product	What can be learned
Secondary data				
Projects reports: URHC reports AKDN reports Arab Contractors reports	Past user's characteristics Previous questionnaires undertaken in the area 2003 baseline survey 2009 post implementation survey	Three months	Historical review of the area. Description of the site prior the interventions covering the physical and non physical elements.	Identification of the past social and heritage values of the site to be compared with the present values perceived by locals.
Primary data				
Site Observation	Field notes/Photography	One week	Description of the site and the identify major physical changes	Community centered activity and identification of sacred places Understanding of the site local meaning.
Focus groups	Voice recording and transcriptions of each focus group and field notes in the three study areas: AL- Gamaleya Al- Khalifa Al- Darb el Ahmar The focus groups covered workers and residents of the area.	One Week	Identify values perceived by local community that can be translated into place brand elements Inspecting major changes in the social and physical pattern	Community respond and attitudes to the interventions that took place in the area Community perceptions of heritage values Highlight their attitude towards branding.

Expert Interviews		3 days	Exploring image building approaches and future plans	Their interest towards area branding and their perception of values.
Survey Questionnaire	Questionnaire with 500 residents of Historic Cairo was conducted between December 2016-January 2017	2 months	Investigating the place image from the local perspective Identify their attitude towards changes	

Table 1-1 Research Data Sources, source: Author

1.10 Research Limitations and Scope

The research method relies on self reported data, it relied on what people say, in focus groups and in questionnaires, at face value which can represent some form of bias. However, the use of other researches and several methods to retrieve the data solves this bias. These biases become apparent if they are incongruent with data from other sources. Another research limitation is the political circumstances in the region and instability in the country that succeeded the 2011 revolution and could have impacts on the perception of the place by the local community.

1.11 Thesis Structure

The dissertation is divided into three parts starting with Part I, which presents a theoretical background and literature review. It is then followed by Part II, which represents empirical analysis leading to Part III presenting the final conclusion and summary. Those three parts comprise seven chapters as presented below:

Chapter 01/ *Thesis Introduction* presenting the research framework and discussing the research definition, hypothesis, questions, aims and methodology.

Chapter 02/ *Measuring the Heritage Brand*. The first part of this chapter exhibits the

different approaches in place brand definitions and terminologies within existing literature. It also investigates the relationship between place branding and place making and finally it reviews previous research undertaken for place brand measurement and evaluation. The chapter concludes with reaching the most suitable evaluation method that will be applied to the case study.

Chapter 03/ *Place Branding On Heritage Foundation*. This chapter is concerned with the application of place branding within heritage sites. It investigates the relationship between heritage and brand with a focus on UNESCO world heritage designation and its evolution from pure conservation to a global brand concerned with improving site's conditions. Finally, a review of different researches undertaken regarding heritage values within "lived" heritage sites is performed. The chapter concludes with the identification of best practices in heritage values assessment.

Chapter 04/*Methodological Framework*: This chapter presents the development of the method that will be used in the research for the evaluation of the Historic Cairo Brand. The method is developed through a review of different evaluation methods that were used in the place branding and heritage research to reach a combined method that works for this specific context and that can be applied on other place brands that are based on heritage foundation.

Chapter 05 / *Historic Cairo transformation*: within this chapter, an in depth study of the area of Historic Cairo is undertaken covering an overview of the context comprising: historical background, socio economic status, spatial analysis and brand analysis. This part also displays a timeline of past, present and planned interventions that took place within the area of study within the selected time frame.

Chapter 06/*Analyzing Historic Cairo Image*: This chapter presents the findings of the empirical research and delves into the analysis changes that occurred around the areas of interventions within the last three decades. This analysis will display the relationship between the physical changes and social changes from one hand and the perception of these changes and its effect on the city image. The chapter also contains analysis of focus groups and survey questionnaire and expert's interviews.

Chapter 07/ *Discussion and Conclusion*: This chapter presents research outcomes and attempts to answer research questions. It concludes with the generation of a model for

place brand evaluation within historic Cairo to be used as a guide in future research.

1.12 Summary

Results from the structure and application of the mixed survey method designed to assess the longitudinal changes in Historic Cairo brand are presented in Chapter 5 and 6 . A Descriptive Case study of historic Cairo is presented listing the recent urban development and conservation interventions that took place within the area since it attained the word heritage brand. The description of these interventions identifies several problems of intangible heritage. The research highlights the shortcomings of the existing approaches used to conserve the cultural heritage of Historic Cairo and suggests how these barriers can be overcome through the integration of residents into the identification of the place brand elements that is generated from the place values.

To help in decision making with a deep analysis of the place brand it is important to look into three perspectives of the place brand: its identity, its perceived image and the projected place image (Govers, Van 't Klooster, & Van Keken, 2016). These three perspectives should be aligned to reach a strong and an authentic brand and specifically the alignment with the place identity which plays a key role in delivering an authentic and distinctive brand and build a place reputation that is based on the real place characteristics and its distinctive values. Place branding is about linking the place image with the "true identity of place". In the most positive scenarios of place branding , the foundation is built to local community to contribute in the creation of their place image and in return contribute to positive behaviors such as civic pride, sense of belonging and supportive behavior.

CHAPTER TWO: MEASURING THE HERITAGE BRAND



Fig 2-1 Sketch from AL-Azhar Park, source: author

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“It is important to know where a place stands and how it is perceived as without sound measurement, branding cannot go beyond being just talk” (Aaker & Joachimsthaler, 1999, p. 141).

2.1 Introduction

The new world is witnessing a shift towards a new approach towards social and economic development defined as "the post industrial society" (Abankina, 2005). This post- industrial stage includes a shift from an industrial economy to so-called “creative economy” (Hawkins, 2007). In the post-industrial society, it is culture that is becoming a strategic priority for contemporary developed economies and it is characterized by the transition from the real economy to the so-called “economy of symbols”. Within this context branding plays a crucial role as a strategic resource and especially in the cultural and tourism sectors, which allows the place to get economic profits from non-economic benefits. These include symbolic attributes and advantages, tangible and intangible reputation elements, legends, myths, cultural traditions, fancies and prejudices, public taste and preferences (Abankina, 2013).

This chapter represents an overview of the place brand measurement approaches available in literature within the last decade. The aim of this review is to develop the best methods that can answer the research questions. The research aim is to identify how can the local cultural heritage be explored and applied into strategic planning to attain a better future for the place , and how can the local elements and features of the place be identified as prominent, and what are the different ways to enhance those features. Similar to product branding; the brand identity is an essential aspect of the place brand that needs to be present and apparent. The brand identity can be explored with a focus on the place image with its two dimensions: the projected image by the creators, as well as the perceived by the target audience (Konecnik and Go, 2008).

2.2 Place Brand and Brand Image

Various scholars have compared between city branding and corporate branding in ways to find similarities between the both terms (Trueman et al, 2007; Pakerson & Saunders, 2004; Hankinson, 2007; Kavaratzis M. , 2009). One of which is the strategy to acquire positive association in the consumer’s minds, this strategy roots back to

corporate branding. A corporate brand is the visual, verbal and behavioural expression of an organization's unique business model, which radiates through the company's mission, core values, culture and overall design (Kavaratzis, 2009; Knox & Bickerton, 2003). Nandan has adopted the definition of corporate brand to apply it on place branding and has defined it as: "a network of associations in the consumers' mind based on the visual, verbal, and behavioural expression of a place, which is embodied through the aims, communication, values, and the general culture of the place's stakeholders and the overall place design" (Nadan, 2005). This definition demonstrates that place brand is not only about the physical attributes but the perception of those expressions in the mind of the target groups.

To support this definition, it is important to highlight the difference between the terms "brand" and "image" in order to investigate the most suitable method to measure it. According to Cova (Cova, 1996), place branding endows a product with a specific and more distinctive identity that is not achieved through tangible aspects of the product, instead Cova argues that this identity mainly emerges from the perceived value of the place which is associated with the intangible factors. This perceptual dimension of the brand is considered the sum of both tangible and intangible brand elements, which makes the selection unique (Moilanen & Rainisto, 2009).

Kavaratzis identifies three types of city communications that form place expressions (Kavaratzis M. , 2004):

1. The primary communication labeled as "place physics", which includes the architecture and real place offerings, as well as the city's behavior.
2. The secondary communication labeled as "place communication", which includes the formal communication through official channels, like all forms of advertising or public relations.
3. The tertiary communication, described as "place word of mouth", which refers to the word-of-mouth details reinforced by the media and the residents themselves.

Remarkably, the primary and tertiary communications are the perceived image of the city, while only the secondary communication results from intentionally designed branding. Therefore, the fundamental difference between brand and image is "the perspective". The image is the receiver perception and the brand is the sender

intentional design (Qu et al, 2011).

Thereby, to reach a distinctive brand identity is not only a method of differentiating the place among its competitors but also ensures that the place is presented and consumed in a manner that matches its perceived value (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005). The interaction between these different elements is what makes a coherent brand under the name of “umbrella brand” (Freire, 2011).

2.3 The Perspectives of Place Brand

A comprehensive brand analysis investigates the three perspectives of the place brand that in turn contributes in a better decision making: the place identity, the perceived place image and the projected place image. These three perspectives should be aligned to reach a strong and an authentic brand and specifically the alignment of the place identity with the place image. This alignment plays a key role in delivering an authentic and distinctive brand, and building a place reputation that is based on the real place characteristics and its distinctive values.

Place branding is about linking the place image with the "true identity of place". In the most positive scenarios of place branding , the foundation is built for local community to contribute in the creation of their place image and in return contribute to positive behaviors such as civic pride, sense of belonging and supportive behavior. However ,linking the place brand with the place identity is a challenging task . This returns to the fact that place identity is in constant change and in turn the place brand. Consequentially, within the place brand evaluation, it is important to take into consideration the time factor. Monitoring place image through time is considered a valuable method to evaluate the place brand performance and determine the strength of link between the brand and the place identity (Place brand observer, 2016).

2.3.1 The Place Identity

Based on the definition of the place identity as "the unique distinctive characteristics and meanings that exist in a place and its culture at a given point in time"(Govers and Go, 2016); the evaluation of the place brand should then first identify the elements that form the place identity and in addition take into account the time factor (Govers, van 't Klooster , Van Keken, 2016).

2.3.2 The Perceived Place Image

The term place image, refers to the sum of beliefs, ideas and impressions people hold of a place (Kotler et al., 1993). Place image plays an important role in understanding residents perception of their place and their attitude towards planned development projects (e.g. Carrus et al., 2005; Devine-Wright and Howes, 2010). Accordingly determining how residents perceive the place image is an important step in any development plan that will contribute in the maintenance and the preservation of the place. Within place branding studies and tourism studies little interest was given to the place image perceived by residents. Despite the important role residents play in the identification of the place brand elements, bridging the gap between the place identity and the place image and the communication of their place values. Moreover, residents play an important role as ambassadors and communicators of the place brand through the tertiary communication "Place word of mouth" (Kavaratzis, 2004).

The ongoing competition between places urges cities authorities to create a brand for their urban place. Within this urged process; the needs, values and expectations of important stakeholders are often neglected. One of the most significant target groups of place branding yet often excluded in the process is the resident group (Braun et al, 2013). Although it is extremely difficult to satisfy all the needs and expectations of all residents, this group constitutes an important pier in any place brand strategy. Insch demonstrates the importance of residents in adding value to the brand equity of the city where they live (Insch, 2011). She describes how residents' attitude towards the city strongly influence the perceptions of visitors.

One of the main brand goals like product brand is to create brand loyalty among the diverse city audience. As a mean to achieve this goal, urban authorities in various

places have started to comprise the branding process within city marketing and urban development strategies (Morgan et al, 2002). Despite the important role residents' play as ambassadors of their city brand, most of place brand practices prioritize the short-term visitors on behalf of residents in pursuit of fast economic gain.

This approach is considered unsustainable, cities or places depend on their residents for economic, social, cultural and environmental vibrancy. Ensuring the availability of a diverse, skilled and content population is therefore fundamental (Insch, 2011). On the contrary low level of resident's satisfaction can be harmful for the brand. It causes a bad perception of the brand among potential investors. Hence, resident's satisfaction and inclusion within the brand strategy should be an ultimate goal for place managers as it controls how the brand is perceived (Insch & Florek, 2008).

Braun, Kavaratzis and Zenker have arrived to three different roles that residents play in the brand formation and communication: first as an integral part of the place brand based on their behavior and attributes; secondly, as ambassadors that communicate their brand message and thirdly, as citizens who take part in the political legitimization of place branding (Braun et al, 2013). Wherefore, urban planners should consider the needs and expectations of residents and work on meeting those needs. According to Williams, there are basic requirements that people share within urban communities such as: affordable housing, education, healthcare, public amenities and opportunities for social interaction (Williams et al, 2008). If resident evaluation of the place where they live improves, then their attachment to the place is expected to grow in parallel. Measuring place satisfaction and people perception about the place is therefore an important indicator for city authorities whether or not they are on the right track (Insch & Florek, 2008).

Earlier research on community participation, describes that understanding the network structure of local government agencies and decision makers can make it easier for community groups and residents for their "voice to be heard" (Holman, 2008). "Urban economic development projects emphasizing a neighborhood local heritage and culture are likely to be successful if residents and community organizations play a key role at all stages (Carr & Servon, 2009).

2.4 The Evolution of Place Branding

“Place brand strategy involves more than the design of a memorable logo and a catchy tagline, it plans, provides for and tells consumers the story of the offer and experience of the place, as it is and as it will be in the future”(Allan, 2011).

Place branding is a practice that has evolved from the marketing discipline. At first the concept of branding was aligned with product and organizations "corporate branding" then it expanded to cover virtually everything. The application of the marketing strategies on cities and regions has resulted in place branding.

2.4.1 From Place Marketing to Place Branding

The subject of place branding has attracted the interest of various commentators with their diverse theoretical backgrounds. Today there is a global competition among cities to attract new talents, tourists, workers, investors, students and new residents. Therefore, cities that want to take part in this competition need to proactively shape and change what the world thinks of them and this through a strategic approach.

Within the place branding and marketing literature there is an absence of a clear definition of the term “Place Branding”. This has caused a misunderstanding of the concept and usage of branding and caused an ambiguity between place marketing and place selling (Berglund & Olsson, 2010; Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005). According to Zenker, the aim of place marketing is to satisfy the consumer’s needs, while place selling is finding the right consumer for an existing product (Zenker, 2011).

Place marketing was defined by Braun as: “the coordinated use of marketing tools supported by a shared customer-oriented philosophy, for creating, communicating, delivering, and exchanging urban offerings that have value for the city’s customers and the city’s community at large (Braun, 2008). The previous definition clarifies that the economic intention is not the only aim of place marketing but in addition the increasing of social functions such as place identification and place satisfaction. Moreover, this increasing social function favors no particular group but comprises all residents (Zenker S. , 2009). It also demonstrates that place branding strategy differs

from product brand strategy, as it is not limited to the quality and features of the product but its success depends on the degree of involvement of the people experiencing the place in forming the brand.

In past years, the focus in the debate on place marketing shifted into the direction of place branding (Kavaratzis, 2008). The concept of place branding is perceived as an important tool to change places reputation and achieve urban development, regeneration and quality of life. “Evidently, places are eager to garner positive associations in the place consumers mind in order to further develop and promote their brand” (Zenker & Braun, 2015). This concept is shown by the several researches undertaken to develop nation brand rankings such as the Anholt Nation Brand Index (Anholt S. , 2006) and the Saffron European City Brand Barometer (Hildreth, 2010).

2.4.2 Place Making or Place Branding

Place making is defined by Gerard Van Keken in his article in Place Brand Observer as: “The process of discovering, creating, developing and realizing ideas and concepts for reconstructing place identities ...and subsequently building the sense of place” (Van Keken, 2015). From the previous definition it is perceived that both place branding and place making share the same target, which is differentiation and uniqueness. However, the discussions in place branding literature did not stress on the importance of the people in making places more unique and distinctive. Place Making is what takes this into account. Linking between place branding and place making is therefore an important step to deliver a uniform message about the place within this global competition.

A strategy to perform “Umbrella Branding” is a challenging process that needs to establish consistency between the city image and vision and the image and vision of its users (Freire, 2011). In other words, the place offerings can not only be its physical boundaries but also the activities taking place within these boundaries. Therefore, it is important to develop a framework that links between place branding concepts from one hand and place making from the other hand in a way to enhance the relation between the designed and perceived image of the place (Khirfan & Momani, 2013). To sum up, it is important to identify the elements that form the unique place identity in

order to find links between the designed and perceived image of the place. Identifying those elements and dimensions will lead to a better comprehensive evaluation of the place brand.

2.5 Place Brand Measurement Approaches

2.5.1 Place Brand Perception Model

The previously mentioned definition of place brand by Zenker adopts the idea that a brand is not communicated expression or what is called the place physics but how the target groups perceive those expressions. According to (Nadan, 2005) the real characteristics of a company such as the visual, verbal and behavioral expression can be considered the brand identity; therefore the place identity could be understood as the visual, verbal and behavioral expressions of the place.

Relying on these concepts, Zenker presented a model of place brand perception (Diagram 2.1). According to the Place brand perception model, the audience perceptions are strong determinant of negative or positive outcomes. Thus, measuring the perception of the audience is required for a more comprehensive picture.

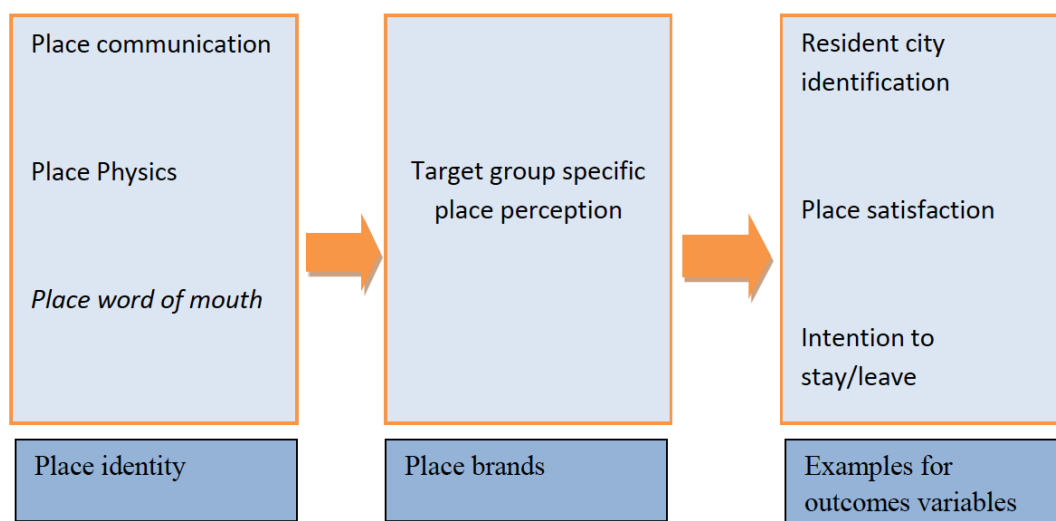


Diagram 2.1 Place brand perception model, source: (Zenker, 2011).

2.5.2 Place Brand Empirical Measurements

Within the place branding literature, there is a diversity of measurement practices and studies of different evaluation methods and attempts to measure the place brand. Zenker classified the empirical measurement of place Brand into three main approaches: 1-In the form of free brand associations of target customers using qualitative methods (Calder, 1977; Supphellen , 2000).

2-In the form of attributes uncovered with quantitative methods like standardized questionnaires on different brand dimensions(Aaker, 1997).

3-With mixed methods such as multidimensional scaling (Carrol & Green, 1997), network analyses (Henderso et al, 2002), the brand concept map method (Roedder John, Loken, Kim, & Monga, 2006)or the laddering technique based on means-end chain theory (Grunert & Grunert, 2005;Gutman, 1982).

The greater part of literature follows the first and second approaches varying between quantitative and qualitative methods. Although these two approaches show unquestionable legibility, the third approach is the most comprehensive and overcomes the drawbacks of the two other approaches as well as gathering their advantages. The below table (Table 2.1) shows a summary of empirical measurement approaches of place brand:

Source	Research object	Method	Brand elements and dimensions
Baxter and Kerr (2010)	Wollongong (Australia)	Quantitative questionnaire with semantic-differential scale and qualitative questions	Brand personality Likes and dislikes
De Carlo et al. (2009)	Milan (Italy)	Case study Semi-structured interviews Qualitative interviews	Cultural offerings Brand symbols Brand personality
Hankinson (2005)	15 English cities	Qualitative interviews Repertory grid analysis Exploratory factor analysis	Economic Physical environment Activities and facilities Brand attitudes People

Herstein and Jaffe (2008)	Holon (Israel)	Case study Qualitative interviews	Top of minds associations City's population aspects City's physical aspects
Kerr and Johnson (2005)	Bargo (Australia)	Case study Qualitative questionnaire Qualitative interviews SWOT analysis	Positive and negative assets Festivals Tourist accommodation Sport/lifestyle Arts/crafts Industry/manufacturing
Laaksonen et al. (2006)	Vaasa (Finland)	Qualitative collage technique Focus group interviews	Nature Industry Culture Built environment Atmosphere
Lee and Jain (2009)	Dubai (United Arab Emirates)	Case study SWOT analysis	Strengths and weaknesses Psychological Functional Economic
Cheng and Taylor (2007)	Almaty (Kazakhstan)	Qualitative focus groups Interviews	Greenness Cultural and ethnic diversity Architecture Historical places Leisure time activities
Merrilees et al. (2009)	Gold Coast (Australia)	Exploratory factor analysis Nature Multiple regression analysis	Business creativity Shopping Brand (reputation) Intentions Transport Cultural activities Government services Social bonding
Parkerson and Saunders (2004)	Birmingham (UK)	Case study Semi- structured qualitative interviews Quantitative survey	Tangible elements (e.g. culture, history, nightlife, shopping, infrastructure, housing and business) Intangible elements (e.g. personality and emotional aspects)
Prayag (2010a)	Cape Town (South-Africa)	Interviews Semi- structured Questionnaire	Top of minds associations Cognitive images Affective images Holistic images
Prayag (2010b)	Cape Town (South Africa)	Semi- structured Questionnaire Exploratory factor analysis	Augmented tourism product Activities and entertainment Climate and scenery Cultural and natural

Trueman et al. (2007)			Bradford (UK)	Survey open and closed questions	with attractions Positive assets (e.g. environment, location, architecture, people and infrastructure) Negative assets (e.g. cleanliness, crime and facilities)
Vaidya et al. (2009)			Surat and Ahmedabad (India)	Quantitative questionnaire with additional Qualitative open-end questions	Brand personality Culture/lifestyle People Place and infrastructure Traffic system/ transportation Employment and business
Vanolo (2008)			Turin (Italy)	Case study	Buzz Art Diversity Nightlife Public spaces Higher education
Wagner and Peters (2009)			Ischgl and Serfaus-Fiss-Ladis (Austria)	Qualitative collage technique	Colour Emotion Picture
Zenker et al. (2009)			15 German cities	Conjoint analysis	Urbanity and diversity Nature and recreation Job chances Cost efficiency
Zenker et al. (2010)	Hamburg (Germany)	Brand concept map method	Top of minds associations		

Table 2.1: Empirical measurements of place brands.
Source (Zenker, 2009) updated by Author

From the above table it can be noticed that there is not a clear definition of the term place brand in addition to a lack of agreement about what should place brand measurement comprises (Zenker S. , 2011). Although these previous methods have reached a level of success, they cannot be relied on as a comprehensive way to measure the place brand. Consequently, as mentioned earlier, a more comprehensive method is required in order to evaluate “ The Umbrella Brand” (Dinnie, 2011). in other words, a mixed method approach that combines between qualitative and quantitative methods is required to be applied in order to catch the wide dimensions that best describes the place brand.

2.5.3 Identifying Place Brand Elements

“..Measuring the parts of place brands must be limited and a selection of elements must be made. The important step comes when choosing a range of elements broad enough to measure a place brand in a reliable manner.”(Zenker S. , 2011).

In addition to the measurement method another important question remains, what are the elements of a place brand that requires research to describe the brand comprehensively. In other words which elements should be used to highlight the most important part of the place brand? Several authors identified different place elements that describe the brand, Kevin Lynch identified physical urban place elements in his well known book “the Image of the City”. However if we are to agree that brand image relies on perception, then those elements go beyond what is physical (Lynch, 1960). The work of David Canter can be looked at as a more comprehensive approach towards identifying those elements; it extends beyond physical elements and includes user’s activities and the meaning they attribute to it (Canter, 1977).

Grabow, Henckel and Hollbach-Grömig proposed four categories of pictures that the city encompasses (Grabow et al,1995): the business picture (where economic activity dominates such as harbor cities), the cultural picture (including theatres, events, inhabitants),the historic picture (covering historic functions and events and the place history) and the spatial picture (covering physical aspects including architecture and place structure). Meanwhile, Simon Anholt developed the City Brand Hexagon (Diagram2-2) using six categories that covers the place brand and (Anholt, 2006): the presence which means the familiarity of the brand within the target audience and the city global contribution in science, culture and governance; the place: perception of physical attributes; the prerequisites: determines how people perceive the basic quality of the city and their level of satisfaction; the people: how the city inhabitants are perceived; the pulse: how existing the city is perceived and the availability of activities to do during free time; and last the potential: covering the economic and educational opportunities.



Diagram2.2 City Brand Hexagon source:(Anholt, 2006)

While Zenker used four categories to best describe the most important part of the place brand namely, “nature and recreation, “urbanity and diversity”, “job chances”, “cost efficiency”.

Anholt (2006)	Grabow <i>et al.</i> (1995)	Zenker <i>et al.</i> (2009)	Combined place categories
The place	Spatial picture	Nature and recreation	Place characteristics
The pulse	Cultural picture	Urbanity and diversity	Place inhabitants
The people			
The potential	Business picture	Job chances	Place business
The prerequisites		Cost efficiency	Place quality
The presence	Historic picture		Place familiarity
			Place history

Table 2.2. Combined place brand categories. Source (Zenker,2011)

Kavaratzis and Ashworth identified three processes that evaluate the people urban experience: 1-planned interventions such as planning, urban design and so on, 2-the way in which they or others use specific places and 3-various forms of place representations such as films, novels, paintings, news reports '(Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005). An addition was made by Khirfan, she proposed a framework that equates between Canter theory of place from one hand and Kavaratzis and Ashworth work from the other hand (Khirfan & Momani, 2013). The Khirfan framework provides guidance towards the selection of urban elements that foster the brand

image. Since place identity and the perception of the place (brand) are interrelated, then the a case study about the place physics and a qualitative research is important to expose one part of the brand. However, intangible elements will be hard to measure using this approach.

Qualitative methods such as the collage technique (Wagner & Peters, 2009) are able to measure these intangible elements to form a comprehensive picture of the place. Another approach to identify place brand elements was conducted by through a Delphi survey (Zakarevičius & Lionikaitė, 2013). The survey was performed to deepen their understanding of the concept of Internal Place Branding. The research offered a comparative analysis of the different elements of existing place branding models. The results of the analysis provided approximate groundings for the conceptualization of the internal place branding. The literature review covering place brand theories revealed a great variety of elements and dimensions of place branding elements in addition to the ones suggested by experts in the Delphi survey. A sum of approximately 59 elements were included. Every element was mentioned by at least four experts. The element that was mentioned mostly was heritage with a total of (55.56 %) as shown in (Fig 2.2).

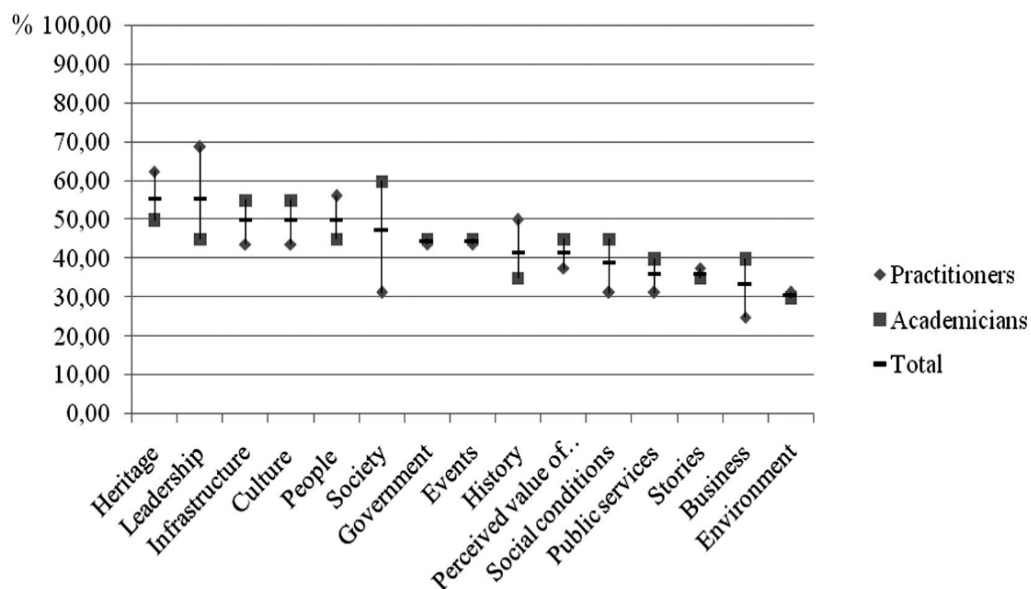


Fig 2.2 Distribution of the experts' opinion about the elements of internal place branding.
Source: (Zakarevičius & Lionikaitė, 2013)

This result shows the importance of heritage as an element of place branding. Moreover, A review of the most common elements among the place brand models reveals that culture comes as the most common element mentioned by both academics and practitioners with a frequency 88.9% (Table2-3).

Authors \ Elements	Culture	Environment	Business	People	Infrastructure	Government
Anholt, 2004	•	•	•	•		•
Anholt, 2006	•	•	•	•	•	
Cheng, Taylor, 2007	•	•		•		
De Carlo et al., 2009	•					
Fan, 2006	•	•		•	•	•
Future Brands, 2012	•	•	•			
Grabow et al., 1995	•	•	•			
Hankinson, 2005		•		•	•	•
Herstein, Jaffe, 2008		•		•		
Jaffe, Nebenzahl, 2001	•	•	•	•	•	•
Kerr, Johnson, 2006	•		•		•	
Laaksonen et al., 2006	•	•	•			
Lee, 2010	•		•	•	•	•
Merilees et al., 2009	•	•	•	•	•	•
Pryag, 2010	•	•			•	
Vaidya et al., 2009	•	•	•	•	•	
Vanolo, 2008	•			•	•	
Zenker et al., 2009	•	•	•			
Frequency	88.9 %	77.8 %	61.1 %	61.1 %	55.6 %	33.3 %

Table 2-3 Most common elements among existing place brand models

Source: (Zakarevičius & Lionikaitė, 2013)

As it is seen from the experts' answers the primary internal place-branding model tends to be constituted mostly from the elements that define sources of experience about the place or the fields of activity. Most of the experts provided the selection of heritage, infrastructure, culture, government, history, public services, stories, business and environment as well as mostly to people related aspects of leadership and society. The study concluded with an initial framework for understanding the process of place branding its elements and logic (Diagram 2-3).

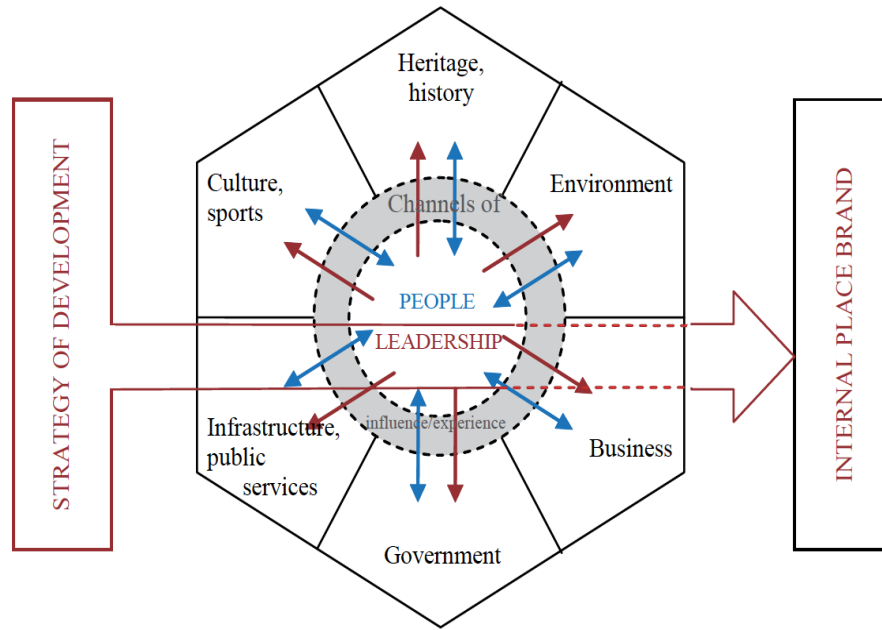


Diagram 2.3 Proposed Internal place branding model
Source: (Zakarevičius & Lionikaitė, 2013)

2.6 Summary

Reviewing the literature of place branding shows that there is a focus on city branding and its strategies without a comprehensive approach to evaluate the impact of the heritage brand on the local community. Most of the available publications cover place branding within the context of the developed world. Moreover, there are very limited researches that focus on small urban areas and historic urban centers that possess a distinctive architectural and urban heritage. This research aims to fill this gap; it is an attempt to reach a brand evaluation model for historic city centers. As an Attempt to catch the most holistic picture of the place, a model of place brand perception was introduced to clarify how these perceptions are built through place identity and how they differ between different target groups (Zenker et al, 2010a; Zenker et al, 2010b). Despite the considerable debate within the place branding literature concerning its definition and its measuring methods, there are some facts that can be concluded. First ,place branding is not only about place physics but it comprises perception of different target audience towards the place . Second, mixed method are the best method to measure the place brand since the brand comprises tangible and intangible elements; and third , when it comes to selecting those elements that best describes the place

brand, the chosen elements should illustrate the variety between tangible and intangible elements to capture a comprehensive picture of the place.

Moreover, few published researches tackled the measurement of citizens perceptions and attitudes towards their towns and cities and in particular their perceptions towards heritage (Tweed et al,2002). The reviewed literature presents, different approaches undertaken in place brand measurement in general without specifying the foundation on which the brand is based. The aim of this research is to develop a method to evaluate the place brand that is based on heritage foundation and investigate the attitudes of residents towards the changes that accompanied the branding practice.

Current debates in architecture and urban conservation tend to focus on technical issues such as methods of conservations, built heritage management, the economic aspect of urban conservation and infrastructure management .However, within the last decades governments started to recognize the importance of heritage conservation for maintaining the social well being of the people living within the heritage environment. The world heritage brand is given to large number of sites around the globe and the attainment of this prestigious designation is a witness on this site values. Heritage with its wide scope of tangible and intangible heritage is a major component of place image. Governments have looked into different ways to identify and protect built heritage using listing of individual monuments or seeking the designation of conservation areas. Yet, these methods are not comprehensively conserving the less tangible heritage elements that differentiate the place from other locations around the globe. The conservation of these elements enrich the cultural identity and contribute in the projection of an authentic and comprehensive place image. In the next chapter the concept of heritage branding will be discussed.

CHAPTER THREE: BRANDING ON HERITAGE FOUNDATION



Fig3-1 Sketch in Darb Shughlan , Al Darb Al Ahmar. Source:author

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“ It could be said that WHS status is what you make of it. Where the status has been used to full effect it has brought partners together, leveraged additional funding, led to new development and enhanced educational benefits, improved conservation and even led to regeneration in some locations.The benefits that the sites attribute to WHS status are therefore strongly related to the motives they had for bidding and correspondingly what they have used the status for”
(Herbert, 1995)

3.1 Introduction

Reviewing previous place brand research and heritage research demonstrates that there is a need to go beyond the black and white discussions of place branding and heritage conservation. It has become necessary to go beyond this barrier that is constructed between branding and heritage and start thinking about the meanings that people relate to heritage and think about how these meanings can be enriched and used in place brand strategies.

This research opens the door to the evolution of the meanings and objectives of place branding. With a better understanding of place branding practice and the role it can play in the assertion of place identity, insightful solutions can be attained for the communications of place values and that joins between old practices and new ones towards a better affirmation of the place identity. Within the historic contexts, place branding exposes the tension between heritage conservation and regeneration, and the ability of both practices in the assertion of place identity.

In this research the focus is on the relationship between the heritage brand and the residents of the historic city center. The research aims to develop an evaluation tool that adopts a bottom up approach in place branding and allow a wider chance to public participation. In this chapter, marketing strategies used within heritage sites are reviewed, as well as means adopted by cities which rely on their heritage to achieve differentiation. The chapter also presents attempts to evaluate social and economic impacts of the heritage brand and the impact of geographic location on the results.

3.2 The World Heritage Marketing

Place brands are more complex than product brands as they comprise a wide range of experiences that can even compete with each other within the same place. A place brand strategy should aggregate this mix to feature one or few dominant elements that can be sufficient to achieve differentiation among competitors (Allan, 2011). Many place managers around the world thought of differentiating themselves through their culture and heritage. This can be noticed in the intense competition to acquire known cultural city brands such as the “Capital of Culture” or “World Heritage Site” designation in a way to reinforce their identity and achieve distinction among others. It is also an approach to be clearer about what the place offers and what can be experienced within it.

With the rise of level of incomes and the globalization impacts within the second half of the 21st century, the scale of heritage tourism expanded considerably (Herbert, 1995). Heritage marketing has evolved from ‘cottage industry’ based on word-of-mouth into more planned interventions such as modern mass marketing and the publication of popular guidebooks as a way to market a destination (Ryan & Silvanto, 2009). In parallel, heritage destinations now compete aggressively to attract cultural and heritage tourism. This fact can be seen in the number of sites around the world seeking to attain the world heritage designation WHS from United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization UNESCO (Paskaleva-Shapira, 2007).

According to Landorf, this rapid growth of heritage tourism put burdens on some of these designated sites, which were unknown some decades ago. This fact highlights the need for a more comprehensive and effective site management (Landorf, 2009). With a look to the origin of the WHS designation since its beginning in 1979; the approach evolved from pure conservation initiative to safeguard the Egyptian temple of Abu Simbel from the Nile water after the construction of the high dam to a well known brand and seal of approval. The WHS List now includes 890 sites in 148 countries: 689 are cultural sites, 176 are natural sites and 25 are ‘mixed sites’ combining cultural and natural heritage (UNESCO, 2013).

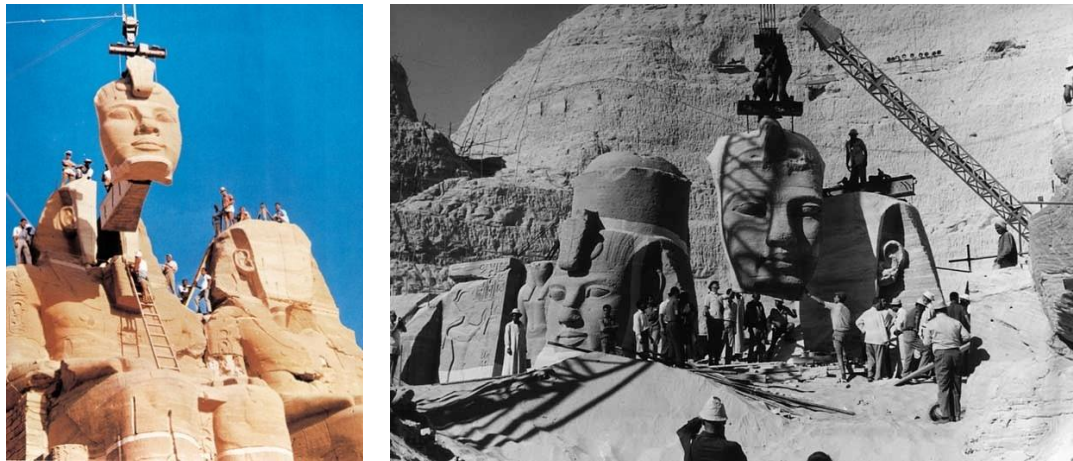


Fig 3.2 and Fig 3.3 Safeguarding the temple of Abu Simbel and the start with a conservation initiative. Source (UNESCO, 2015)

3.2.1 The Emergence of the World Heritage Site as a Brand

The research adopts the definition of Kotler and Gertner that the main purpose of the brand is to offer a promise of quality and differentiation (Kotler & Gertner, 2002). These two conditions are offered by the world heritage designation. It is argued that the WHS has become recently a well-acknowledged brand. Most of the tourist who are looking for a place to visit possess limited knowledge about the cultural and historic traditions of other countries and cannot select a proper destination to compare different offered sites. A label such as the WHS designation exercises an important influence on the ‘consumption’ decisions (Keller, 1993; Hellofs, 1999).

The evolution of the WHS status from a pure conservation and technical designation of a location containing cultural or natural patrimony that humanity as a whole has interest in preserving, to a brand that is able to attract tourist was a natural process. It was a result of what is called the “association effect” (Ryan & Silvano, 2009). Many of the world most famous ancient tourist attractions are in fact designated. This includes Athens Acropolis, Notre Dame de Paris, the Colosseum in Rome, Giza pyramids in Egypt and Taj Mahal in India. For a site to be “associated” with those master attractions is a powerful significance of authenticity and value. Kotler and Gertner suggest that the best way for a country to improve its image is to create new associations (Kotler & Gertner, 2002).



Fig 3.4 Some of the world most famous World Heritage Sites playing an important role in the association effect. Source: assembled by author from (UNESCO.org)

Place brand however is unlike product brand and confront many challenges. “Place product is a unique combination of buildings, facilities and venues which represent production by a multiplicity of autonomous services businesses, both public and private” (Hakinson, 2009). An established well-known brand such as the WHS designation can assist in avoiding conflicts and miscommunications with clients and unifying the brand theme creating what is called “umbrella brand”. Another challenge of place branding and that is linked with heritage site is derived from the nature of the heritage site itself ; branding beyond what is archeological, branding a “lived” site. In the case of this research Historic Cairo world heritage site is a tourist-historic city that encompasses numerous dimensions of both the historic city and the tourist city. Therefore, the city embraces a complexity of functions that are in need of inevitable management .

3.2.2 World Heritage Sites within the Developing World

In addition to the World Heritage list, a number of 1466 sites are now placed on the

“tentative list”. The vast majority of these potential sites are nominated by the governments of developing nations (UNESCO, 2013). There is a considerable difference between site marketing in developed and developing countries. The first hardly benefits economically from these sites and simply doesn’t prioritize them in their marketing campaign while on the contrary, in developing countries, these sites can constitute in considerable economic returns, in a country like Egypt for example tourism accounted for almost 19% of the GDP in 2007(IMF, 2015).However the benefits of heritage cannot be only measured with their economic returns. Many of the WHSs are “lived” sites and present home for thousands of people and thousands of businesses. Therefore, focusing only on preservation and incomes is not enough; a look on how the brand is attached to the place is here necessary. Kavaratzis and Ashworth have stated that city branding incorporates strategic and tactical undertakings that focus on the city perceived and designed image (Kavaratzis and Asworth, 2005).The strategic action is linked to various form of promotional activities while the tactical action is attached to the physical setting through the adoption of physical interventions such as creating or improving landmarks, regenerating historic districts, managing cultural heritage or emphasizing new developments (Khirfan, 2010).

Henceforth, the challenge within the developing world is the brand management and how can the site maintain its reputation and prestige by protecting its authenticity, integrity and preservation. Besides, the look towards heritage as a way to attract fast cash from visitors needs to be changed and more sustainable approaches of socio-economic development that does not rely on one source of incomes should be adopted. Within the existing literature there is a debate about the impact of WHS, from one hand WHS status is perceived as a “fossilization” of living communities while on the other hand it is a perceived as “a once in lifetime opportunity” for positive change. Yet, it is not easy to assume that the brand alone can achieve the change. Dinnie considers the Brand as “the momentum” but a vehicle is still needed to carry forward (Dinnie, 2011). The motive for becoming a WHS is critically important, and the actions that flow from that motivation deliver the majority of the socio-economic impacts. In other words , that the brand is a mean to an end and not the end itself (Rebanks Consulting Ltd , 2009).

Governments, especially in the developing regions of the world, are often under enormous pressure to encourage commercial exploitation of sites, sometimes to the detriment of their authenticity and integral preservation (Landorf, 2009). After their designation certain sites have become major contributors to their countries economy especially poverty-stricken nations. As a result many sites are looked at as a source of future revenue without measuring the effect of the designation on the living community (Nadan, 2005).

A research undertaken by Rebanks Consultants in May 2009 judged the existing 878 world heritage sites against 15 criteria to define their characteristics, motivation and actions. A filtering approach provided new insights into the activities and impacts of World Heritage Sites around the world. The research reveals four kinds of world heritage sites based on the intention behind the designation (Diagram 3-1):

- 1- A 'Celebration' Designation: which treats the designation as a reward for heritage already preserved.
- 2- A Heritage 'SOS' Designation: which treats the designation emergency attention for unique heritage at risk. (The origins of the UNESCO WHS convention lie in this concept of WHS).
- 3- A Marketing/Quality Logo/Brand: perceiving the WHS designation as value and a marketing or quality brand for historic places.
- 4- A 'Place Making' Catalyst: perceiving the designation as a powerful catalyst for economic development using heritage as a tool to develop powerful new identities for places, and powerful programs of actions.

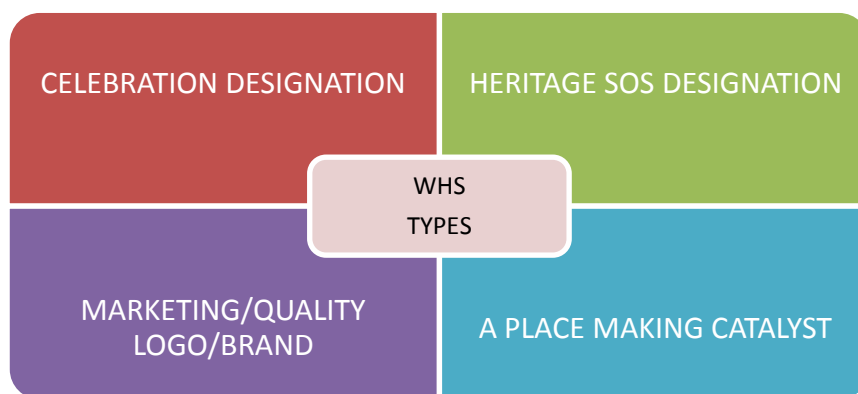


Diagram 3.1 Types of world heritage sites classified by Rebanks Consultant. Source: Author

Only a very small minority of sites perceive World Heritage Site status as being about the third and fourth of these categories (i.e. as a tool for socio-economic impact), perhaps as few as 5–10% (Fig 3.5). Only this small percentage of sites used the WHSs in a significant way to be models of socio-economic best practice. The majority of these sites are located within Europe with other few in North America and Australia. The research has concluded that the developed world owns the full share of delivering socio-economic impacts while the majority of developing world is more concerned with mere heritage preservation.

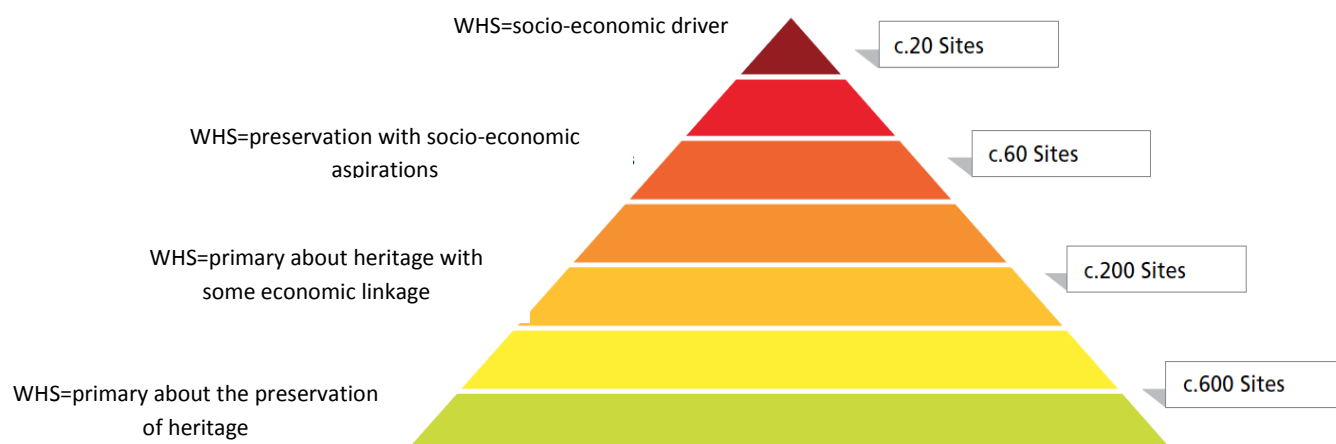


Fig 3.5 Filtering the 878 WHSs by their socio-economic actions and motivations reveals how few have innovated in using the designation this way source: (Rebanks, 2009)

Barbara and Jaquot argued that the more sites are located in a country the more visitors from this country are interested to see other world heritage sites abroad (Barbara and Jaquot, 2008). The below map (Fig 3.6) shows an interesting fact from the marketing perspective showing the number of world heritage sites all over the world and it can be noticed that developed countries possess a considerable amount of world heritage sites while developing countries in blue or purple can possess rich heritage but cannot afford to seek designation resulting in a minor number of sites.

Reviewing the status of various world heritage sites around the world and specifically those sites who succeeded to achieve socio-economic gains from their designation shows that there is a focus on the place identity. The assertion of the place identity comes when place stakeholders are in search of the elements that makes the place unique. Finding these elements leads to the attraction of inward investments and the relocation of business and participates in creating more dynamic communities that are

more interested to engage in various tourism activities and develop civic pride and place attachment.

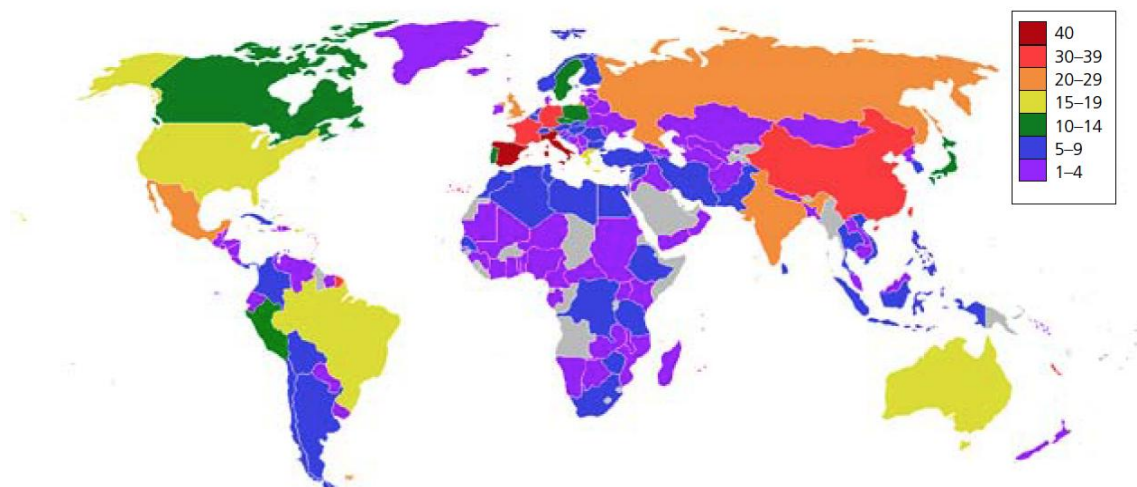


Fig 3.6 Density of World Heritage Sites per nation. Showing the poorest countries in blue and purple with a noticeable lack of WHS. Source: Rebanks, 2009

3.2.3 The Perceived Value of the World Heritage Brand

To suggest that the WHS brand has an absolute value can be acceptable in terms of heritage designation (in terms of technical values and inscription criteria). However, within reality, its value is like any other brand value, it changes with time and is strongly shaped by the perception of the consumers. This constitutes an important role for every inscribed site to maintain this perception of value and if possible enhance it. (Fig 3.7) represents a conceptual model for the forces affecting the world heritage brand value.

The figure demonstrates two forces affecting the world heritage brand value: the first is raising this value through what is called the “network effect” which increases the value by the widespread of number of sites around the globe and reinforces the brand awareness. The second, on the long term, with the inscription of too many sites the perceived value begins to weaken or to be lost (Rebanks, 2009). Recently there is a UNESCO attention to maintain standards for the inscription of new sites. This will considerably cause no devaluation of the present and future sites by addition of new sites but in contrast will strengthen the network of these exceptional historic places (UNESCO, 2009).

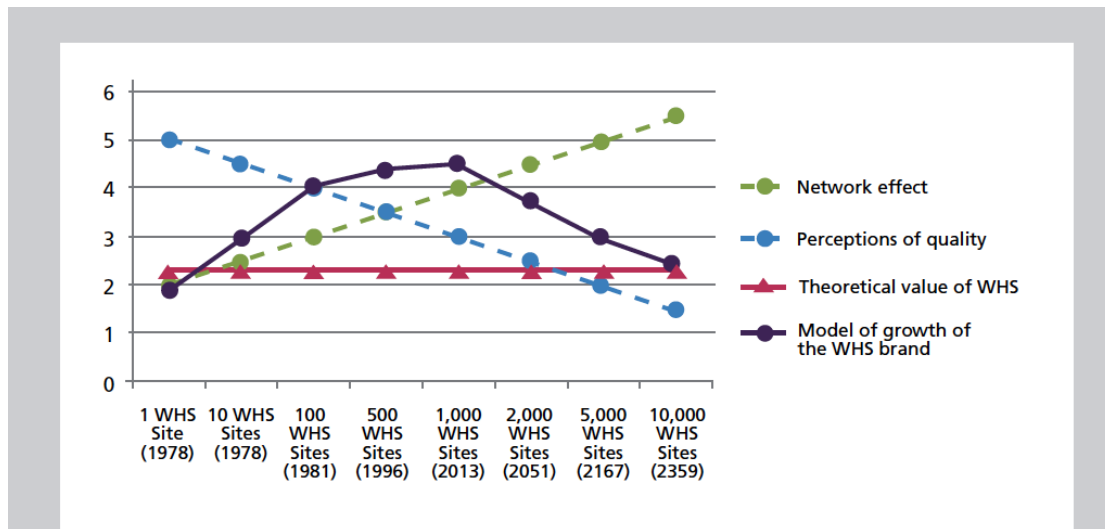


Fig 3.7 A conceptual model for the forces affecting the value of the world heritage site.

Source: (Rebanks,2009)

3.3 Branding and Socio-Economic Changes

3.3.1 Branding as a Tool for Attracting Investments

The place brand reputation and image is considered the lens through which investment related information is viewed (Middleton, 2011). For a place brand to succeed externally, it first needs to succeed internally. Internal¹ brand communications is therefore an important first step to achieve this goal. Richard Florida and Markusen have highlighted the importance of the totality of a city environment to attract economic investment and talents and in investing in those talents (Florida, 2005; Markusen, 2006).

On a way to attract investments, Clark identified three layers of activities that are critical for economic competitiveness (Clark, 2007):

- *Economic factors*: including innovation and creativity, investment, human capital and connectedness (covering real and virtual transportation and communication)

¹The term "Internal Branding" is used by Middleton to refer to local branding that targets the local population and the place residents, while "External Branding" refers to global branding that targets the global audience.

- *Socio-political factors*: including quality of life, economic diversity and governance.
- *Infrastructural factors*: including quality of place (education quality, healthcare, affordability of housing, safety and walkability), it also comprises location factors such as culture and how the city administration manages investment.

3.3.2 Socio-Economic Benefits of the WHS designation

These concepts are applied on heritage sites, evaluating socio-economic impacts of branding within heritage sites is a complex and difficult procedure. That comes from the fact that the designation alone cannot cause the impacts, but it is the actions and investments of local stakeholders that does. However, the research conducted by Rebanks consultant on 14 case studies of World Heritage sites revealed 12 types of socio-economic benefits for attaining the World Heritage Designation (Rebanks,2009). Those benefits are listed in table 3.1

1. New identity/destination image	Attaining place brand leads to a new or improved place identity.	Völklingen Bamberg
2. Media Value	Evidence from the, Völklingen, Bamberg and Jurassic coast shows that the WHS Brand raises automatically the national and international profile of the site resulting of increased interests of local and international media.	Völklingen Bamberg Jurassic coast
3. Culture and creativity	The most motivational cases are those who made profit of their heritage in a creative way by reinventing how both residents and visitors experience it by relying on both culture and creativity.	Völklingen, Germany Where outdated industrial heritage was reinvented to “a must see” cultural attraction after its designation.

4. Education	Some of these sites benefit from their outstanding universal values and their educational offerings on directing their visitor profile towards educational visits.	The Jurassic coast, UK Became a leading destination for UK school visits on “earth sciences”.
5. Quality of life and civic pride	The socio economic upgrade of the place is highly dependent on the perception of the quality of life that the place offers. Experience sand work on improving their civic pride and appreciation towards the place they live.	Edinburg Where the focus was on making a better life for residents through cultural, heritage and education
6. “Cultural Glue”	The process delivers socio-economic benefits by using existing and potential cultural assets to form what is called a: “cultural glue” or the “Trail approach” ² where most of community facilities and cultural attractions are assembled into a sequential product that residents, visitors and investors can understand. This concept makes the place richer, more rewarding and more informed.	Blaenavon, UK Where This process was used within the branding strategy to make use of the place cultural assets and fit them in one narrative.
7. Regeneration	Some of the WHS have become the focus of development and regeneration programs ranging from large investments to upgrade a	Quedlinburg in Germany, where €1 billion (£864 million) were spent to

² The research of “Sustainable urban development in historical areas using the tourist trail approach”, Khalid S. Al-Hagla, where the concept of Trail Approach was applied within the Historic city of Saida, Lebanon(Al-Hagla,2010).

	whole town to small interventions within specific zones. ³ The WHSs that operate as socio economic catalyst are those sizable sites that accommodate a considerable population and cover considerably large geographical area.	preserve and re-develop the whole town. Other smaller scale projects
8.Coordinating investments through strategies	This point is dependable upon the previous one, and this happens when investments are incorporated within the overall developing strategy and are managed by a well-supported organization.WHS status positively influence investors decision to invest within the site if compared to Non WHS.	Hadrian's Wall, the Jurassic Coast, Blaenavon and the Derwent Valley Mills in the UK have done this with differing degrees of success.
9. Preservation of heritage	Mostly, this point is considered cost rather than economic benefit, however this can be a wealth-generating sector for some sites. It could generate a market that exports different skills across the region. Preserving a historic fabric that accommodates commercial activities and skilled workers can be perceived as a sound investment for the future.	Bamberg is a good example of this point, it possesses a preservation and restoration sector that is worth c. €285 million per annum.
10. Better new service	Through coordinated management WHS can contribute in providing better and new services for both	Hadrian wall project has developed a new train line and bus line.

³Historic Cairo which represents the research case study was subject to regeneration and development programs since its designation in 1979 ,see chapter four for more details about the development projects timeline.

	residents and visitors.	
11. Business	A Minority of WHS found out that the designation has triggered commercial respond from the private sector, however most of the business that took place was serving visitors and not the residents. This could be through various forms of services presented to visitors and tourists. Therefore business that targets both visitors and residents is required in order to generate better economic impacts.	Jurassic Coast presented the Jurassic Coast Quality Business Scheme which represents an accreditation Scheme that offers a mentoring visit, substantial guided self-evaluation, and training. Business communities .
12. Quality Infrastructure	The majority of the WHS aims to improve the quality of its built environment through providing quality infrastructure for locals and visitors. Attaining the WHS designation can persuade local authorities and local investors to invest in quality infrastructure to add value to the place.	Vienna, Quedlinburg, Edinburgh or Bamberg where new building with exceptional design quality were introduced in the site.

Table 3.1 Economic benefits of World Heritage Site Designation. Source :Author

A key lesson that was identified in the present research, that for a world heritage designation to become an engine for socio-economic development, it requires a WHSs of significant size .In other words, a place with living and breathing communities where a significant population is located and daily activities are taking place which makes Historic Cairo a convenient site to conduct the study.

3.3.3.Engaging the Multiple Stakeholders of Place Branding

Another challenge within place branding that mainly differs it from product branding is its multiple stakeholders. Research has shown that not only do the target groups contrast strongly in their perceptions (Zenker et al, 2010a, b), but that their needs and wants regarding a city can vary widely (Zenker, 2009). Fulfilling these diverse demands with the support of a fitting place brand poses quite the challenge.

Place branding is also different from destination marketing and investment promotion. The difference lies in the fact that place branding delivers a persistent message about the brand that is formed by all the stakeholders. Unlike destination marketing where one or several organization are responsible for delivering this message whether or not it is supported by the real place characteristics (Gelder, Gemma, & Peter, 2011). An important element of place branding is how to engage different stakeholders in deciding the future of the place. This element is considered crucial when it comes to a successful branding strategy. Therefore, the strategy should comprise a program to engage and energize locals, business and community groups in shaping articulating and conveying the brand (Houghton & Stevens, 2011). To be successful, it is important to adopt a stakeholder collaborative approach through the introduction of a leadership and partnership practices in terms of city brand leadership, policymaking, public involvement and consolation (Hakinson, 2009; Mitchell et al, 1997; Skinner, 2005).

3.3.3.1 The Importance of Stakeholder Engagement

Despite the importance of stakeholder engagement, it is an underexplored aspect within the city branding literature; in addition very few of city branding literature tackled the branding process of cities in general (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005). The importance of stakeholder engagement is rooted to two levels: first, there is growing evidence among the city branding literature that the most effective branding strategies are those who integrate a wide range of local players in forming and delivering new message about the place (Greenley & Foxall, 1997; Mitchell et al, 1997; Parent & Deephouse, 2007). Fairly, another weight of evidence demonstrates that those strategies that do not integrate local stakeholders are doomed to fail; second, the process of stakeholder engagement itself creates “a cadre of informed advocate” who is willing to promote the message later on (Baker, 2007: 166).

This in turn will help to face the distrust around the place branding discipline. As many people perceive the branding practice as superficial and twisted. Specifically, when it comes with branding that is connected to lived environment and neighborhoods, this perception becomes sharper and generates hostile reactions and defensiveness from residents. Therefore, the only way to face this hostility, is by integrating people into the strategy since its beginning and increase their awareness of the process. The more people are involved the more the understanding and awareness of the people towards the discipline is clarified. Joining between international interest, national interest and direct user interests is a major step towards the acceptance of the branding practice.

3.3.4 The Internal Audience

As mentioned previously that brand perception varies widely between different target groups. Place branding target groups can be broadly divided into three target market segments: visitors; residents and workers; business and industry (Kotler et al., 1993). These group are complex in nature and were classified into sub groups as shown in (Diagram 3-1)

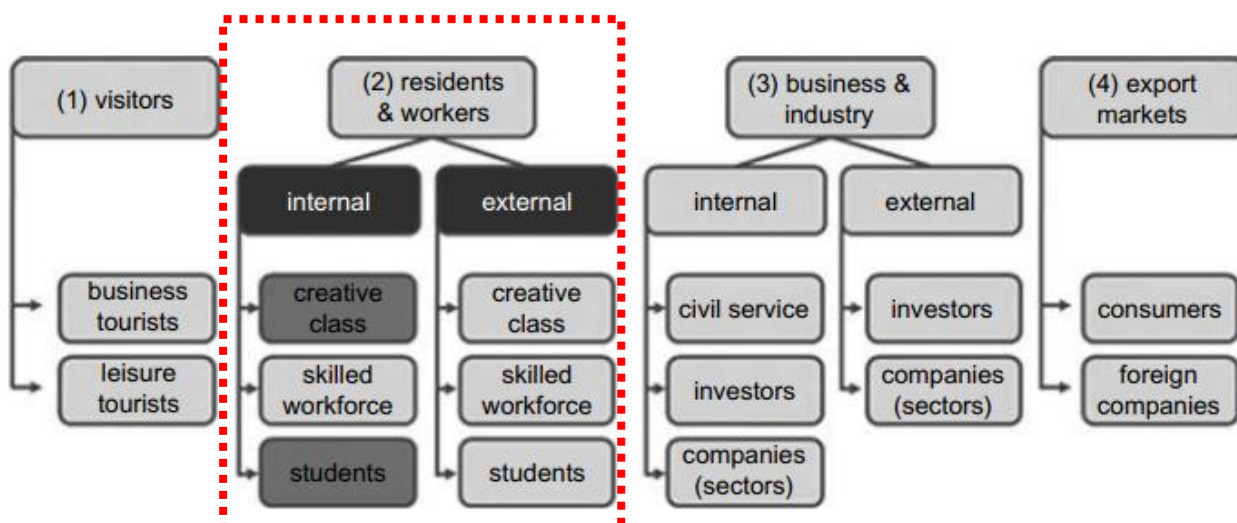


Diagram 3-2, Target groups of Place Branding, with resesrach scope framed
Source:(Zenker and Beckmann,2013)

In this study, the focus is on the internal residents and workers. Despite the need for a resident oriented approach in place branding, little work has been published covering residents role in place branding, either theoretical or empirical. Place residents play an important role in the place branding practice. Braun, Kavaratzis and Zenker has identified three important role in the formation and communication of the place brand: residents as an integrated part of the place brand, residents as ambassadors for the place brand and residents as citizens. The first role refers to the social-milieu of the place and the interactions between each other's and with outsiders. The second role refers to the communication of the place brand through the residents word of mouth , the views of residents are considered informal, authentic and insider sources of information about the place that is projected to the global audience. The third role as citizens is related to their right in have political power and participate in political decisions, through allowing residents to participate in decision making. Braun (2011) argues that the implementation of place branding requires creating balance between the focus on place branding and wider support in the place's communities.

These three role position residents as a crucial element of the place brand. The existing residents of the place should be prioritized as they are the most important audience of the place brand. Identifying the values, behavior and culture of residents will ensure the projection of an authentic place brand that is linked to its identity. This

approach will also generate positive outcomes and develop place attachment and civic pride among the local community.

3.3.5 The Challenge of Social Changes

“City branding exercises affect society, just as the city shapes how it should be branded” (Ooi, 2011).

Cities are changeable by nature; cities are considered cultural, social, economic and political centers. Social practices and changes often develop in cities and then widespread to other places. Social changes are merely mentioned within the place branding literature. When it comes to tracking these changes, the time element is crucial because it emphasizes the fluctuating reality of the society. Changes in the city may take time to be fixed such as language or tradition evolution while other changes can take place quickly such as the making of Dubai as a world city by introducing iconic Architecture “BurjKhalifa”. According to Can-Seng Ooi, a city branding strategy works within a set of interrelated parameters: the first parameter is that the place brand always presents the positive place aspects and ignores the negative aspects because they are considered unattractive like crime, smog or ghettos (Dinnie,2011).

Furthermore, proper traditions and heritage are often attached to the brand while inappropriate historical events are hidden. An example for this is the branding of Beijing where the famous Forbidden City and Tiananmen Square are constantly features within the campaign but the 1989 demonstrations and subsequent massacre are ignored. The second parameter is that place branding aims to shape people perception of the location (Anderson et al,1997; Kleppe et al, 2012; McCleary & Whitney, 1994) like several dictatorial states that try to change the way the world perceives them. The third parameter tackles the relationship between the place brand and the place identity. Although the brand is designed, it portrays the place identity. The authentic brand catches the truthful story of the place. An example for this is the Danish city of Aarhus. The Brand tagline of this city showed a considerable honesty in delivering a message about the place: “Denmark second largest city, where the pulse beat, but never too fast for the heart to enjoy it” (Visit Aarhus, 2010). A simple

tagline that delivers an honest image about the small city that you enjoy without too much triggers. The city is also expecting to host the European Capital of Culture 2017. Following the review of these parameters it is important to highlight that like society changes, the place branding process is also changeable and not static. As a result, a number of paradoxes of place brand have become a fact that are highlighted by Keith Dinnie in his book "City Branding Theories and Cases" (Dinnie, 2008).

Paradox 1: *Place Branding have become a common activity*

Many cities around the globe now are seeking the adoption of Brand strategies in a way to accentuate their uniqueness, and as the place changes, the brand changes in parallel. Paradoxically, when cities develop they become similar. This is a result of different cities authorities that learn from each other. There are number of surveys that rank cities according to different criteria's.

Index	Criteria
Economist's Livability Index	Stability, Healthcare, Culture, Environment, Education, Infrastructure. Urban form (sprawl, green space), The geographical situation of the city (natural assets, isolation and connectivity), Cultural assets and pollution.
Anholt City Ranking (Anholt,2006)	Vitality, People, facilities
Creativity Index (Florida,2003)	Technology, talent, tolerance
Saffron European city Brand Barometer	Cultural and amenity

Table 3.2 City Brand Indexes . Source :Author

These Indexes and surveys become major frameworks for various city authorities, whom they rely on in their city management. As a result, many cities have become equally special.

Paradox 2: *Bottom-Up and Top-Down*

As mentioned previously, the recent branding literature emphasizes the importance of considering the wide variety of stakeholders with special focus on local communities and residents. The branding process requires mobilizing local support and enhancing public private partnership in addition to engaging with external audience (Mossberg & Getz, 2006). Bringing the interests of external and internal audience together poses another paradox. While some literature argue that place brand authorities might cause unwanted social changes by imposing a brand image on the place and transforming it into a “Tourist Haunt”, others argue that place branding can bring societal changes that is appreciated by locals. An example for that is the development that took place in Shanghai and its transformation from a fishing village into a metropolis of 23 million people. Within this plan, the authorities combined between branding and urban planning to conserve and reinvent aspects of the old city - the neo classical colonialist buildings and the traditional Chinese park. Several residents have accepted this change and consider this area an important element of their city life. Place Brand is not only reflecting society but it also can cause changes in society (Top- Down).

Paradox 3: *Residents and non-residents interpretation*

Within place branding practice, it is hard to find a message that leaves an echo for both residents and non-residents. The brand message should be an authentic message that portrays the place identity. However in some cases the message turns out towards foreigners, which questions its authenticity. On the contrary, an authentic message may be appreciated by locals but too complex for the non-residents to notice such as important historical details or food culture. As a result the place brand may create a new authenticity that is both appreciated by both locals and residents (Cohen, 1988).

3.4 Summary

The above review identified a mutual relationship between the heritage brand and its users. On one side, the brand affects the local community and on the other side the local community affects the brand projection. These effects can be determined through two aligned approaches: exploring the multiple approaches of brand building and the steps taken to re-image the place from one side and its effects on the community perception on the other side. In the next chapter, the methodological approach to achieve this objective is presented in details.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

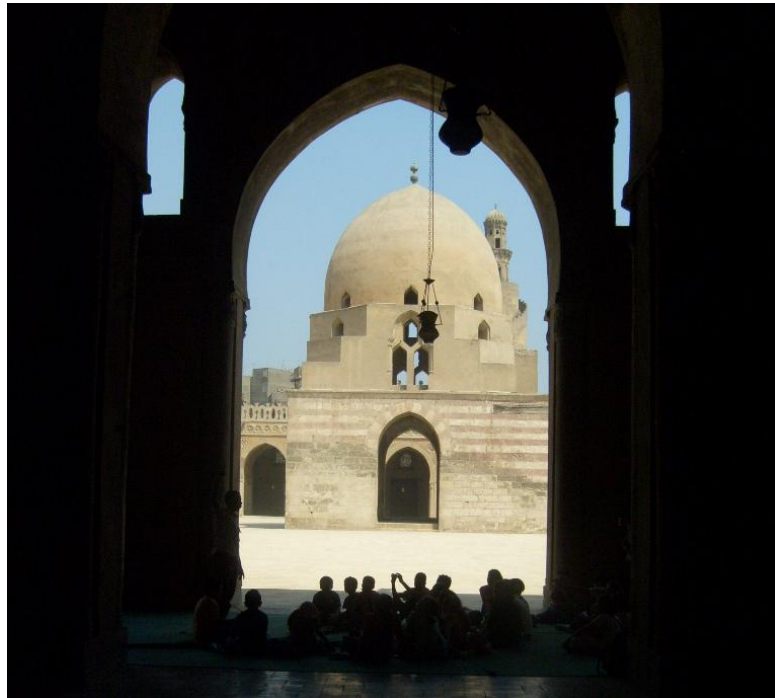


Figure4.1 View in Ibn Tulun Mosque. Source: Author

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4.1 The Mixed Method Approach

The aim of the study is to investigate whether place branding that is based on heritage foundation contribute to place image change. To answer the research question, the study is based on a mixed method methodology that combines quantitative along with qualitative research methods. The qualitative part aims to enhance the understanding about both physical and social transformations that occurred in the historic city and highlight the major area of changes, as for the quantitative part it aims in examining relationships between the urban conservation projects that occurred in the historic city and the perceived place image. Information collected in the survey from the 500 respondents forms the basis for the quantitative analysis while the conducted focus groups discussions provide the basis for the qualitative analysis.

4.2 Data Collection Method and Research Tools

Following the extensive literature review presented in chapter two and three on different empirical studies in place brand measurement and the place image changes measurements, this chapter includes the research methodology of the dissertation. It presents in more details the methodological approach that is briefly described in chapter one. The chapter demonstrates the research method, the research approach, the data collection method, the sample selection and the data analysis type. The research done within this dissertation presents a mixed method that builds on previous researches in place branding and image making. However, the proposed research tackles a new point which is the application of place branding within historic city centres and in particularly, the place brand that is based on heritage foundation. In addition, the research investigates heritage branding within the Egyptian context that is faced with various political, economic and social challenges. To answer the research objectives, a mixed methodology that combines between qualitative and quantitative research was adopted. This method was selected based on extensive reviews of previous empirical studies in place branding that were identified in chapter two. A combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches is necessary for evaluating the place brand.

According to Sebastian Zenker; to expose comprehensively all parts of the place identity, the method should allow the measurement of both hard facts and soft facts (Zenker, 2011). Meaning that, a descriptive case study about place physical attributes cannot expose all parts of place image. To expose a wider range of the components of the place image; a quantitative approach should be adopted with the descriptive study. Baxter and Kerr suggested the use of survey tools to identify various dimensions of the place brand elements (Baxter & Kerr, 2010). The research mainly relies on three main suggestions in measuring Historic Cairo Brand Image :

- The place brand image should be visualized comprising two main elements: attribute - based elements and holistic elements.
- Each of these elements is classified into functional elements (tangible) and psychological elements (less tangible).
- The change in place image could be due to changes in functional attributes and psychological attributes following different image making strategies such as urban conservation projects.

4.3 The Research Technique

The study answers the research question by developing a model for the evaluation of the impact of urban conservation projects on Historic Cairo image as perceived by its residents. The research relies on previous methodologies to measure city image. However, the majority of place image measurement methodologies were used to measure the static image of the place at a certain point in time. Moreover, this procedure cannot claim to isolate the exact impact of this form of branding. Therefore, the technique adopts mixed methodologies to achieve the most accredited results. Quasi-experiment technique is used in conjunction with qualitative research to monitor changes in Historic Cairo image through time and detect the effect of conservation image on the perceived image by its residents. This method is used to overcome the need for a longitudinal research. It adds to the existing literature by proposing a framework for place image measurement that is suited for heritage sites with their unique features and auras. The research used focus groups to capture the holistic impressions that residents hold towards Historic Cairo and determine the unique features of the place in conjunction with survey questionnaire. These

questionnaires uses standardized scales to measure the perceptions of both functional and psychological attributes.

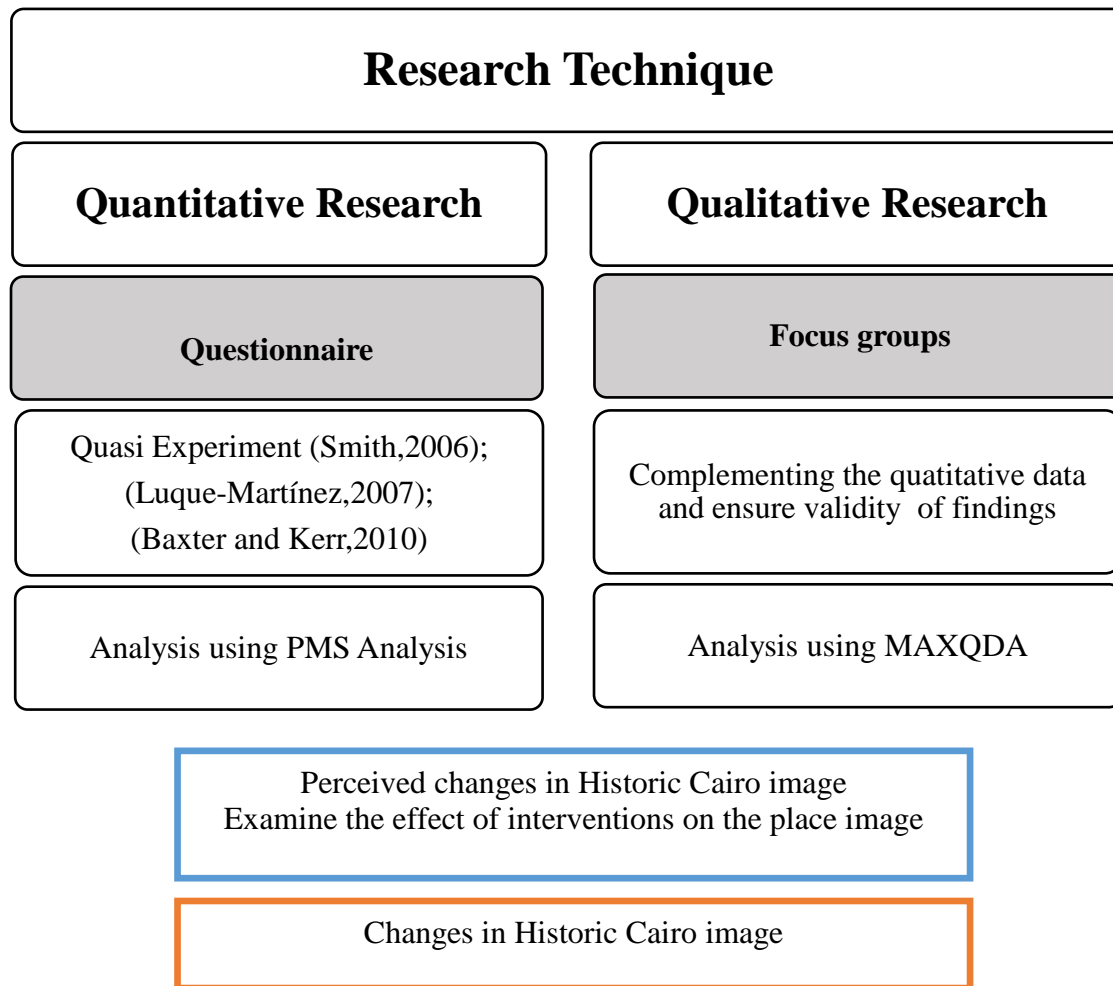


Diagram 4-1 Research technique. Source: author

The major information required for this technique is the resident's awareness of the urban conservation projects and their attitude towards the world heritage brand. It also requires measures of attribute-based image of the historic city. The assessment of resident's awareness of the world heritage brand is done by asking questions that exhibit their awareness of the world heritage brand and whether they are familiar with the urban conservation projects within the historic city and their attitude towards these projects. The basic hypothesis is to validate whether residents who are aware of the world heritage brand and are familiar with the urban conservation

projects that occurred within the historic city are more likely to develop a positive image of their place. The research also hypothesizes that the less the gap between the place identity and perceived image, the more the attitudes of residents will be positive towards the place brand. The research aims to develop survey instrument that can:

- I. Monitor changes in the perceived image of Historic Cairo over time.
- II. Identify and measure image attributes of Historic Cairo.
- III. Measure and identify the gaps between perceived place image and the place identity.
- IV. Measure place brand knowledge and attitudes towards branding practices.
- V. Form a base of recommendations to place managers to allow them to recommend actions plans to improve the place reputation.

4.4 The Research Phases

The research is performed through the following sequential phases;

4.4.1 Phase1:Literature Review

Identify the image based attributes or in other words place brand elements that constitute the place identity. This was done through extensive review of literature from various disciplines, including place branding literature and urban heritage literature. In addition, to previous researches within the historic Cairo context that were explored. The literature review aims to uncover the different techniques used in the measurement of place image and select the most suitable technique for the study. A review of these different techniques is presented in chapter 2.

4.4.2 Phase 2: Focus Groups

The second phase of the research comprises focus groups held with residents of the historic city. This phase represents a preliminary stage preceding the quantitative survey. The data retrieved from these focus groups help in understanding the holistic changes that occurred in the perception of Historic Cairo, it also helps in exploring resident's attitudes towards the place brand and their attitudes towards the urban conservation projects that were under the World

Heritage Site umbrella. Moreover, the discussions helped as a guide in the questionnaire design and the formulation of the questions. The focus group questions revolved around three main aims: first, to highlight the main area of change in Historic Cairo image ; second, to explore residents attitude towards the urban conservation projects and third, to investigate their awareness of the World Heritage Site designation.

Four focus group sessions were held in April 2016 in "Mezallah" ,a nongovernmental organization in Historic Cairo. This number was adequate to reach data saturation as (Kreuger & Casey, 1994 ; Moragn, 1997) have suggested that three to six different focus groups are adequate to reach data saturation. Each session ranged between 45 min and one hour of duration. The focus groups took place with residents, workers and students of three districts in Historic Cairo that witnessed major interventions and that are considered the core of the Islamic City. Those districts are: Al-Gamaleya, Al-Darb Al-Ahmar and Al- Khalifa.

The selection of group participants relied on the researcher judgment and with the help of non-governmental organizations in the area and their networking with residents. The total number of participant is 24 participants included 10 males and 14 females. They were all residents of Historic Cairo; the participants were categorized into four groups varying between 6 to 8 participants as follows:

- *Group one:* consisted of tent making "Khayameyah" Women who reside in the area for more than 20 years.
- *Group two:* consisted of craftsmen's and workers who worked and lived in the area for more than twenty years.
- *Group three:* consisted of high school and university students.
- *Group four:* consisted of housewives who lived in the area for more than 30 years.

The questions used in the focus groups were open questions to allow respondents to speak freely and express their opinions and attitudes. A set of 12 questions were used for the residents and housewives, as for the craftsmen and tent-making women two additional questions were asked about the crafts. The respondents profile and the questions are provided in the Appendix.

4.4.3 Phase Three: Survey Questionnaire

The main objective of the survey is to provide information on how residents of Historic Cairo perceive their place and investigate what are the elements that form the place identity from their viewpoint. Furthermore, identifying what has happened to the place identity and image over time is one of the most important objectives of this study. This survey would allow a comparison with previous surveys conducted in Historic Cairo, which captures the changes in the perception of the place identity and image over time.

The questionnaire was launched in November and December 2016, in three main qisms constituting the core of the old city: Al-Darb Al-Ahmar, Al-Gamaleya and Al-Khalifa. In addition, it explores residents' attitudes towards the various interventions that took place within the site and measure their degree of awareness of their place brand. The questionnaire aims to identify attributes of place identity and image. The questions encompass a semantic scaling technique to measure different place attributes and identify the gaps between the place image and identity. Another section of the questionnaires covers rating scale to investigate place brand awareness and the attitudes of residents towards the changes in their place. The questions are structured based on the survey instrument developed by Baxter and Kerr to measure the place image with the addition of questions measuring brand awareness and attitude towards changes (Baxter & Kerr, 2010).

4.4.3.1 Sampling Method

The sample used in the questionnaire is reached through a sequential procedure to ensure that the chosen sample is representative of the population of Historic Cairo. The sampling frame of the area investigated within the three Qisms is 125,941 people. The strata used to select the samples were done in line with the smallest administrative boundaries Neighbourhood or "Shyakha", (each District or "Qism" was divided into shyakha). The shyakhas were stratified into two lists: one around the area of interventions and the other one not directly involved in the interventions. Then two shyakhas from each group were selected randomly from each of the three Qisms. A list of the population in each shyakha was then formulated. A sample size of 500 people was

randomly chosen according to the research budget and timeframe. To attain a sample size from each Qism that is proportionate to the total population

$$\text{Sample per Qism} = \frac{N \times \text{Population of Qism}}{\text{Total Population}}$$

The sample per Qism was then divided into a smaller equal number based on the number of shyakhas randomly selected from each Qism. The following table demonstrates the sampling procedure with the number of samples in each selected shyakha.

I	H	G	F	E	D	C	B	A	
						sample		Khalifa	1
		2795					2795	Hataba	2
35	****	8553					5758	Al Mahgar	3
		13217					4664	Al helmeya	4
35	*****	17393					4176	Al saliba	5
					70	69,0522	17393		6

							Gamaleya	7
		1971					1971 Bab el fetuh	8
		2890					919 Khan el Khalili	9
70	*****	6266					3376 Al gamaleya	10
		9590					3324 Kasr el shuq	11
70	*****	10727					1137 Al Mashad al hu	12
		11012					285 Al azhar	13
					140	43,7189	11012	14
25	*****	7463					7463 Al shaarany	15
		8113					650 al kharanfash	16
		10563					2450 ben el suren	17
		12120					1557 gohar al kaed	18
		12389					269 al hamzawi	19
		16431					4042 al otuf	20
25	*****	21861					5430 Al mansuri	21
		26975					5114 Al darassa	22
		30034					3059 al berekdar	23
		33600					3566 al khawas	24
		37403					3803 al kurdi	25
					50	148,494	37403	26
							Darb Al Ahmar	27
		3630					3630 al ghoreya	28
		7341					3711 haret al roum	29
80	*****	12999					5658 Al meghareblin	30
		15368					2369 Al darb al ahmar	31
		19774					4406 darb shoghlán	32
80	*****	22665					2891 bab el wazir	33
					160	89,9826	22665	34
		6541					6541 Al serougia	35
40	*****	11353					4812 suq el sellah	36
		16705					5352 Al dawoudya	37
		22179					5474 al omari	38
		25007					2828 that el rob3	39
		28504					3497 el kareeba	40
40	*****	32651					4147 Darb sa3ada	41
		37468					4817 al batneya	42
					80	148,752	37468	43
								44
							125941 p0p	45
					500		500 sample	46

Table 4-1 Sample selection of the three qisms .Source: author

4.4.4 Phase Four: Data Analysis

In this phase, the analytical approach is presented in detail, first the qualitative analysis technique and second the quantitative analysis. The analysis results will be discussed in chapter six.

4.4.4.1 The Qualitative Analysis

The data collected from focus group sessions are quite rich in information that needs to be analyzed carefully in an objective manner. The most proper method to analyze the data is mixed method content analysis (Morgan, 1997), through this method the data retrieved from focus groups were divided to small chunks and coded using the MaxQda qualitative data analyst, these codes are then placed into similar groupings and counted. This type of analysis provides two types of information, quantitative information by identifying the frequency of each, in addition it supplements the quantitative data with a rich description of each code.

4.4.4.2 The Quantitative Analysis

The quantitative analysis begins with a descriptive analysis of the survey results. The descriptive analysis presents and discusses the survey findings. However, the study attempts to test the existence of a causal relationship between place branding based on heritage projects and image change. In fact, this task would require moving from pure descriptive analysis, where we cannot place any causal interpretation, to modelling approach. Despite its limitations, Smith has identified a simple technique that can be used to demonstrate whether flagship urban projects add to city image change without the need of longitudinal research (Smith, 2006). Using Spearman's rho analysis, he explored the relationship between awareness of flagship projects and the images of certain cities, namely Birmingham, Manchester and Sheffield, and city image change. He argued that if there are no differences between the images formed by residents who are aware of the world heritage brand and those who are not, then the assumption is that the effect is insignificant. Yet, if different images are perceived, then it can be used as indicator of positive image effects. The research should incorporate the analysis of attributes based images to provide a more comprehensive analysis of the fluctuations in the place image through time.

Following Smith's premise, it is argued that if the Historic Cairo urban conservation projects have been effective it is likely that residents who are aware of the world heritage brand and are familiar with the urban conservation projects that occurred within the historic city are more likely to develop positive image of their place. On contrast, residents of Historic Cairo who are not aware of the conservation project that occurred are less likely to develop positive image. The major information required for this technique is the residents' awareness of the urban conservation projects and their attitude towards the world heritage brand. It also requires measures of attribute-based image of the historic city. The assessment of resident's awareness is by asking them whether they are familiar with urban conservation projects within the historic city and their attitude towards these projects. To complement the analysis questions including Likert scaling were used. General questions about the historic city were used such as whether the city has improved during the last decades, semantic differentiation scaling was used to allow the measurement of each attribute. The research hypothesizes that residents' awareness of world heritage brand leads to the enhancement of the place image and leads to positive outcomes.

Given the ordinal nature of the examined variables, the analysis relies on Spearman's coefficient, a nonparametric measure of statistical dependence between the ranking of two variables, test. The null hypothesis of Spearman's test is that there is no relationship between awareness of heritage conservation projects and district image change. On the other hand, the alternative hypothesis claims that there is a relationship between awareness of the projects and district image change. Consequently, if the null hypothesis is rejected then under strong assumptions we can argue that the heritage conservation projects has contributed to district image change. On the contrary, if the null hypothesis is accepted then we show that the projects is independent from the perception of historic Cairo image. The following formula is used to estimate the Spearman coefficient:

$$rho = \frac{Cov(X,Y)}{\sigma_x \sigma_y} = 1 - \frac{6 \sum d^2}{n(n^2 - 1)}$$

Where $Cov(X, Y)$ is the covariance of X and Y variables, $\sigma_x \sigma_y$ are the standard deviations. The first equation can be simplified to the next equation where d is the difference between the two

ranks of each observation. However, the Spearman's results must be interpreted with caution. It makes some strong assumption, which does not necessarily hold. Spearman's coefficient is a correlation coefficient meaning that it indicates where awareness of the projects coincides with the perceptions of district image change. Even a significant Spearman's coefficient does not necessarily guarantee a casual interpretation because confounding remains a key threat. Confounding arises when the respondents differ systematically prior to the treatment, those who had heard of the project, as they are not randomly assigned to treatment and control groups. Additionally, a certain underlying characteristic could be shared by all the respondents who have heard of the projects. Therefore, it is necessary to conduct the Spearman test along with other measures such as focus group discussions, which is already done, to ensure the validity of findings.

An ideal causal identification would require an experimental setting, where treatment and control groups are assigned randomly and the intervention is the only change between the two groups. While, this is doable in natural science; it is rarely applicable in our field. To improve the literature and limit the above-mentioned problems, we suggest an additional methodology. We use Propensity Score Matching (PSM) to limit the selection problem that is different in individual characteristics between treatment and control groups to the minimum. The PSM analysis limits the selection bias by constructing an artificial comparison group, where individuals are matched based on their propensity to become insured.

Assessing the impact of the conversion urban project could be subject to a selection problem. The different in individual characteristics such as age, gender, and level of education complicate the comparison of the treatment and control groups and could cause bias unless they are carefully controlled for. The value of the PSM technique is that it reduces the bias due to confounding variables when estimating the treatment effect by simply comparing outcomes between the treatment and control groups. Formally, the propensity score (PS) could be defined as in the following equation.

$$PS_i = Prob(E = 1|Z_i)$$

Where PS_i is the probability that a respondent i is aware of the project ($E = 1$), conditional on all the observed characteristics (Z) of the respondent that can be utilized to balance potential confounders across the control group and consequently lowers any estimation bias. Probit regression model is utilized to estimate the PSs for each respondent based on several fundamental characteristics such as respondent's age, employment status, number of children, and place of residence. The survey allows us to monitor the changes that occurred in the Historic Cairo image through a time frame of thirty years (1985-2016).

4.5 Description of Interviewed Districts “Qisms”

Al-Gamaleya

Qism Al-Gamaleya encompasses the major part of the Fatimid nucleus of Al-Qahera, that goes back to the tenth century. The Qism encompasses architectural masterpieces, traditional markets and a concentration of workshops for traditional handcrafts along its main spines "Al-Mu'iz Street" and "Al-Gamaleya Street", these two streets constitute main urban corridors within the fabric of the old city.

Following the 1992 earthquake, the urban fabric started to change, heritage buildings that collapsed or deteriorated due to the earthquake were replaced by poor quality new buildings.

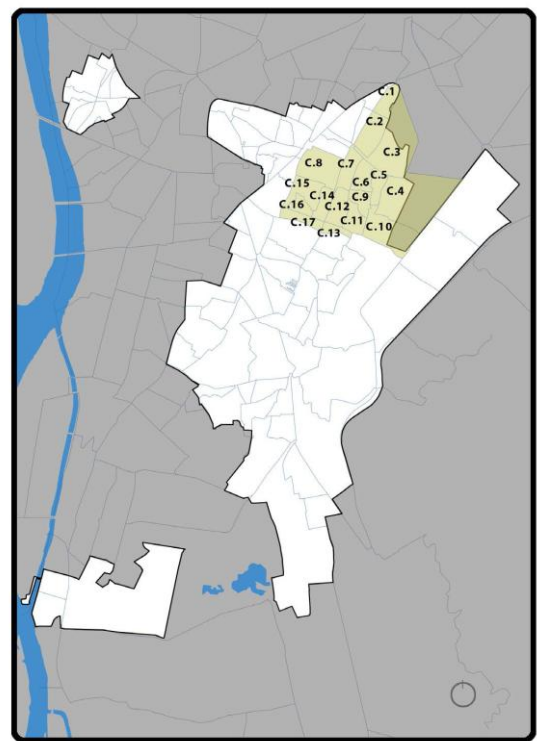


Figure 4-2 Administrative divisions in Al-Gamaleya

Source: URHC, 2012

Following the political turbulence in Egypt in 2011, the problem escalated. the absence of executive power has threatened the historic site through the violation of building codes and urban planning norms.

According to the URHC survey 2012, Qism Al-Gamaleya has one of the highest integrities in architecture and urban fabric recorded within Historic Cairo (UNESCO, 2012). Since the year 2000 various interventions took place within the area by the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA) that targeted various building conservation and rehabilitation projects in addition to main spines development.

The area of Al-Gamaleya has attracted labor from rural parts of Egypt to work in its workshops and retail industries. According to CAPMAS ,80% of the workers of Al-Gamaleya live in the area (work and home proximity) (CAPMAS, 2006). There is a high concentration of shops selling traditional crafts, spices, textiles in addition to imported goods (electronics, home appliances, gifts, clothes and shoes). The biggest crafts today are copper, metal and tin work. The Qism is also known by major tourism spines such as the Bazaar of Khan Al-Khalili and famous Egyptian restaurant and cafes. The Qism consists of 17 shyakhas included in the World Heritage Property, including the (Bab al Fetuh, al-Kurdi, Al-Khawas, Al-outouf, Al-Gamaleya, Al-shaarani, qasr Al-shouk, Al-Mashhad Al-Husseini, Khan Al- khalili, Al- Azhar, Al-Khoronfesh, BenAl-suren, Gohar al Qaed, Al Hamzawi, Albir Qadar). Al-Mansureya and Al-Darassa are partially included.

Al-Darb Al-Ahmar

Qism Al-Darb El Ahmar is located on the eastern side of the world heritage site. Its main borders are "Al-Azhar Street" from the north that passes between it and between Qism Al-Gamaleya; "Port Said Street" from the west, and the Historic Wall from the east. Al-Darb Al-Ahmar is also located within the boundaries of the old city wall and is considered the extension of the Fatimid nucleus by the Mamluks. The Qism is known by a high concentration of traditional crafts workshops in addition to a considerable number of Mamluk monuments.

One of the Major interventions that took place within the Qism of el Darb Al Ahmar was "The Aga Khan Trust of Culture's Al-Darb Al-Ahmar Revitalization Project. The project main aims were to upgrade the physical, social and economic conditions of the area, in addition to the construction of Al-Azhar Park adjacent to the east city wall.

Most the products sold in Khan -Al-Khalili and other famous markets in the area are produced in this area especially "Khayameyah" Tent making, (Arabesque) Arabic Carpentry and "Mashrabeya", Ramadan lanterns in addition to leather and copper work. Most area residents have been living in the area since decades and these crafts have been transferred through generations. Most of families who are living in Al-Darb Al-Ahmar are involved in traditional crafts. The Qism consists of 14 shyakhas, all of which are included in the World Heritage Property.

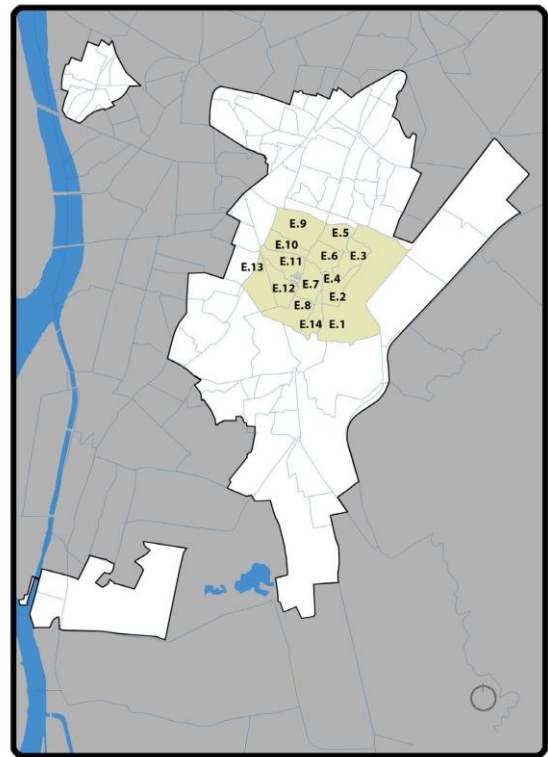


Figure 4-3 Administrative divisions in Al-Darb Al-Ahmar
Source:URHC,2012

AL-Khalifa

Qism Al Khalifa is where the Old City of Al-Qata'I is located, Al-Qata'I is the capital established by Ahmed Ibn Tulun in 870, in the 14th century the Mamluks made considerable developments to the area especially around the lake of "Birkat Al Fil", an old lake, and the Tulun aqueduct. Several palaces and mosques were built around the lake by rulers families. During the ottoman period the area started to host a new community of merchants and artisans and it became one of the area where elites resided. In the early 18th century, the area started to lose its character and slightly transformed from a wealthy residential area due to the development of Al-Azbakyiah. Only Few shyakhas within the Qisms can be considered urban settlements, the rest belongs to the southern cemeteries. Qism Al-Khalifa witnesses a wide contrast in the urban typology, population and building densities.

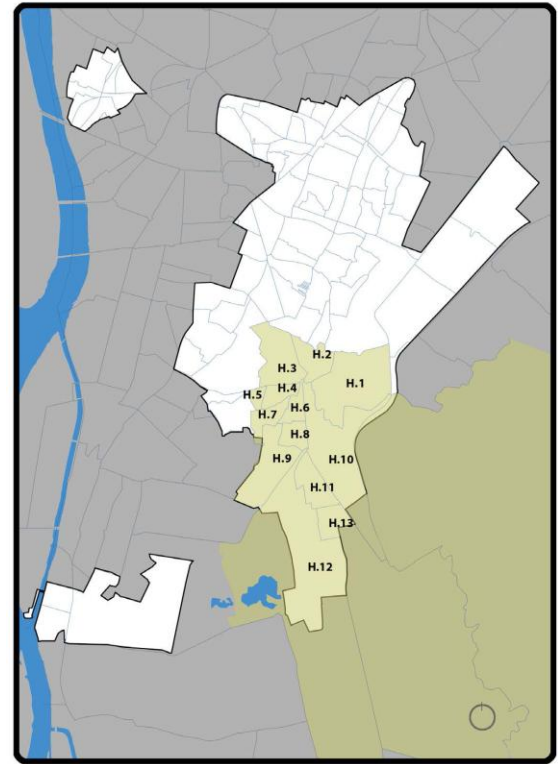


Figure 4-4 Administrative divisions in Al-Khalifa
Source :URHC,2012

From the site observation within the urban settlements parts, most buildings are mixed use buildings with retail shops in the ground floor and small apartments in the upper floor, another type is the old large buildings that were in a deteriorating condition and are divided into smaller residential units. Moreover, The highest concentration of historical domestic architecture is around Darb Al-Hosr street, Al-Salyba street, Al-Boqli street and Arab al-Yassar street. The overall condition of the built environment is poor, with a high percentage of abandoned and squatted buildings. Main roads are paved, while smaller streets are randomly unpaved. Garbage is variously disposed in vacant areas and on street corners. The area has a good concentration of crafts: mainly carpentry and furniture making. It is easily accessible to other areas by public transportation. Thirteen shyakhas within this Qism are included in the World Heritage Property (URHC,2012).

4.6 Summary

To determine the change in the perceived place image by the internal audience, the research relies mainly on previous methodologies that were used to measure the place image at a certain point in time .However, to measure the effect of urban conservation projects on Historic Cairo image through time , there is a need to adopt a mixed method approach that complements previous research in the field. The research uses qualitative tools along with quantitative method. Smith adopted a quantitative approach to measure the change in city image without the need of longitudinal research using the quasi experiment technique (Smith,2006). The research adopts this methodology to monitor the place image through time. This is due to the difficulty of retrieving aggregated panel data from previous research in the area ,which caused difficulty in performing statistical analysis. To overcome the limitations of the smith research, qualitative research was added to this methodology to ensure the validity of the findings and complement the data.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE TRANSFORMATION OF HISTORIC CAIRO



Figure 5-1 View of the Citadel from Ibn Tulun Minaret , Source:author

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5.1 Introduction

Following its designation as a world heritage site, Historic Cairo witnessed various place making urban and architectural interventions. These interventions varied between pure conservation that concentrate on specific monuments or cluster of monuments to a wider more holistic rehabilitation plans and community participation through various forms of awareness campaigns. However, these projects were scattered in different zones within the heritage site and were managed by different national and international organizations.

Sedky identified three interest groups involved within the heritage site: first, the local community who are interested in using the city in its genuine and traditional lifestyle; second, the worldwide community represented in organizations and individuals and whose main objective is to safeguard the international cultural heritage and last, the Egyptian government organizations which are in charge of main decisions in the area and their main objectives lies in tourist oriented activities (Sedky, 2009). These groups hold different perceptions of the area which constitute a major challenge for area management. Each of these groups has its own demands, perspectives and priorities when dealing with Historic Cairo. The areas that were not directly within the intervention zones are currently suffering from neglect and escalated deterioration. Pointedly, within the last decades many changes occurred in the social and traditional structure of the Historic site.

Reviewing previous studies, a minority of studies that covered Historic Cairo have targeted the first group which is the local community (Salah Ouf, 2002; Salama, 2000; Rashed J. , 2012a; Shehayeb, 2011). Further, the investigation of the changing image of the place from the local perspective was not tackled. If a brand strategy is to be implemented in the area, it is important to inspect the effect of various place making interventions on the way residents perceive their place and whether their perception changed or remained consistent. Residents inclusion within the identification of areas of change is an important step to deliver an authentic representation of the area.

The political model in Egypt is state centred, where only the government oversees defining and solving social problems (Grindle & Thomas, 1989). It was claimed by many researchers in the area that this government approach in various urban conservation projects have prioritized the built heritage and the purification of the old fabric aiming to project a civilized image of Cairo (Sedky, 2009; Mansour, 2015; Zakaria, 2015). Sedky asserted that the urban development strategies undertaken within the historic site neglected important intangible assets and the meaning of heritage to the area residents. “Most of the revitalization projects within the area of historic Cairo can be referred as “Beautification” focusing on building conservation and streetscapes” (Sedky, 2009). Various researches reclaimed that regeneration in its comprehensive meaning is not present, despite some minor interventions that concentrated lately on upgrading the social and economic environment within Al-Darb Al-Ahmar, Al-Sayeda Zeinab and Masr Al- Qadima. This issue reflects a challenge concerning the communication of the place brand and its perception by the area residents.

In 2010, the Urban Regeneration Project of Historic Cairo (URHC) was launched to prepare management tools that focuses on the conservation of Historic Cairo heritage values. The main objectives were to prepare action plans for the socio-economic revitalization and environmental upgrading of the world heritage property. This evolution in the objectives of interventions into a more inclusive approach from pure conservation to socio-economic revitalization should have its impact on the perceived image of the place by its residents.

In this chapter, the main changes that occurred within Historic Cairo within the last thirty years are highlighted. It starts by outlining the reasons behind choosing Historic Cairo as a case study, then it examines the historic background of the city. The chapter also presents a timeline of the different interventions that occurred in the historic city with detailed description of the physical changes that occurred within interventions zones. This review aims to manifest the major areas of changes that occurred in the physical and social fabric of Historic Cairo within the last three decades.

5.2 Historic Cairo as a Case Study

The selection of Historic Cairo as a case study is due to its significance as a world heritage site that offers differentiation and uniqueness. This significance expands beyond the value of its monuments and built heritage, to its cultural values and meanings. Heritage sites have been considered within a wide perspective that incorporates the tangible and intangible aspects of heritage (Al-Hagla, 2010). The area was inscribed in the world heritage list based on these aspects; *“The centre of Cairo groups numerous streets and old dwellings and thus maintains, in the heart of the traditional urban fabric, forms of human settlement which go back to the Middle Ages”* (ICOMOS, 1979). Historic Cairo hosts a rich amount of historically significant districts and monuments, varying from religious architecture within the ruins of Al-Fustat, the Fatimid nucleus of Medieval Cairo and the Citadel and surrounding Mamluks palaces, to secular domestic architecture, mausoleums, bazaars, the Nilometer and other inventions related to human use and mastery of the River Nile (UNESCO W. , 2016).

Since its designation, the site has been subject to several architectural and urban conservation projects under the UNESCO umbrella. Until the year 2012, there was an absence of a specific border and name of the area. There were different names used to identify this specific area in the centre of Cairo (Islamic Cairo, Fatimid Cairo, Medieval Cairo and Historic Cairo). These names were used in different marketing campaigns, media coverage and touristic guides or by urban planners and local authorities. As for area residents, these names are not widely used, they prefer using the Qisms name in the identification of the area depending on their locality such as Al-

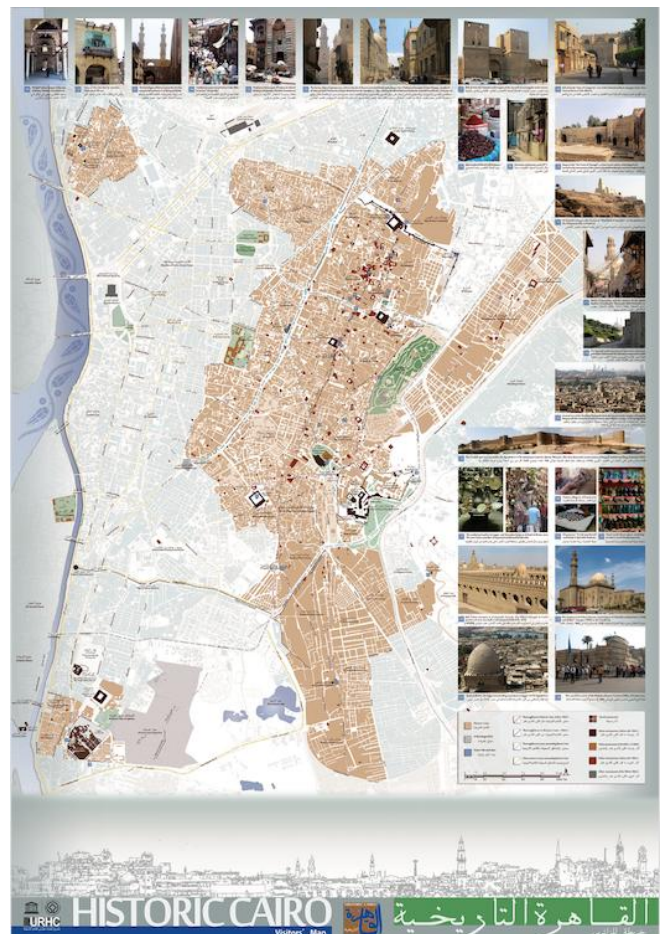


Figure 5-2 Historic Cairo Tourist Map, prepared by URHC
Source: (UNESCO, Urban Regeneration Project for Historic Cairo:First Report of Activity, 2012).

Darb Al-Ahmar, Al-Gamaleya, Al-Khalifa and Al-Sayeda Zeinab. To them, the holistic term that covers the entire designated zone such as Historic Cairo is not widely used.

5.3 Historic Cairo within Greater Cairo Context

Cairo is considered one of the biggest metropolitan cities in the world and the largest city in Africa and the Middle East, with a metropolitan population of nearly 20.5 million (CAPMAS, 2017). The evolution of Cairo urban growth has been subject to many studies that cover Cairo spatial structure since its foundation until present time. Although Islamic Cairo is in the heart of greater Cairo metropolitan region, the historic city maintains its urban traditional fabric and various forms of human settlement that goes back to the Middle Ages. It constitutes a significant material witness to the political, intellectual, and commercial development of the area during the medieval period (OWHC, 2011).

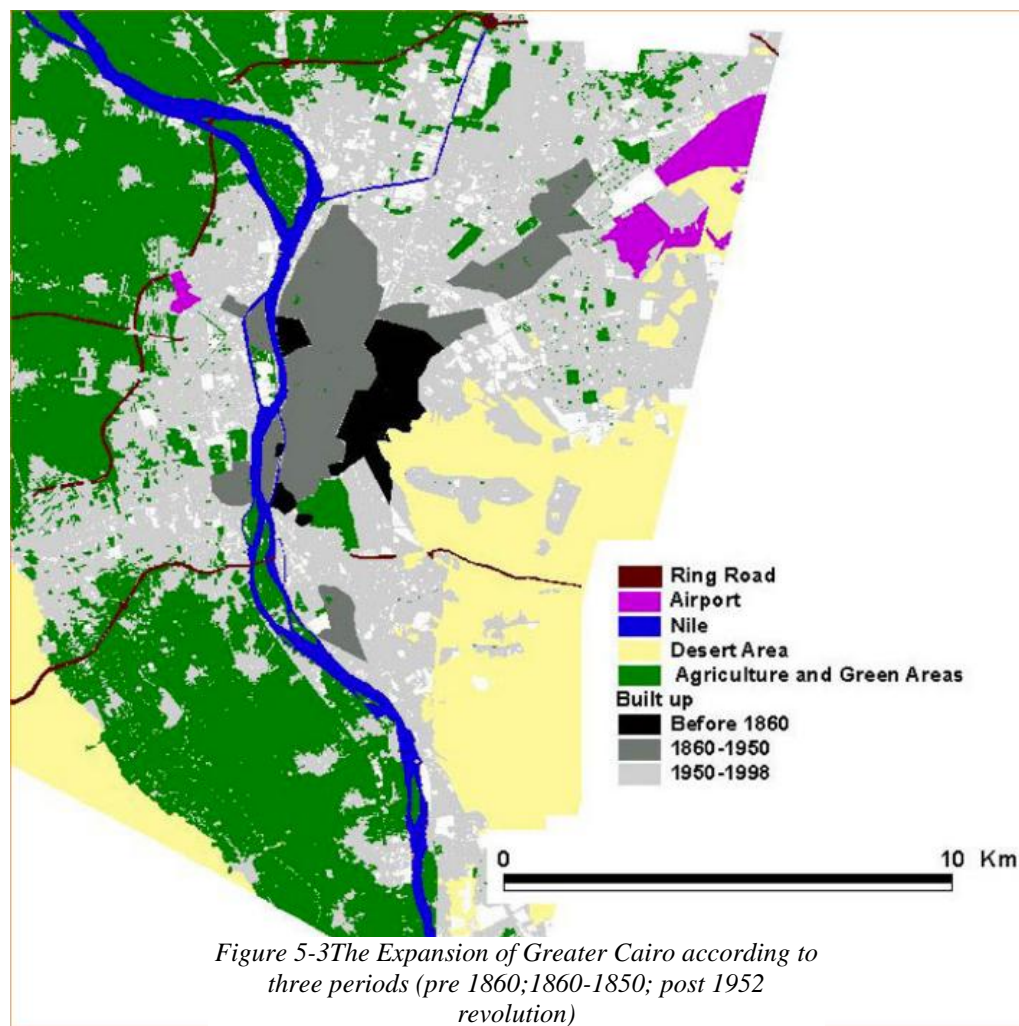


Figure 5-3 The Expansion of Greater Cairo according to three periods (pre 1860; 1860-1850; post 1952 revolution)

Source: (UN-Habitat, 2017)

Cairo went into three main periods of evolution: the pre-nineteenth century, the period between 1860 and 1950 and the post revolution Cairo following the 1952 revolution (Ibrahim, 1985). In addition, Ahmed and Kamel identified three main periods that forms the basis of Cairo spatial structure and that perfectly matches the mentioned periods: Islamic Cairo, European Cairo and Contemporary Cairo (Ahmed & Kamel, 1996). Those three main periods highlight the major changes that occurred in the city structure since its establishment until the late fifties.

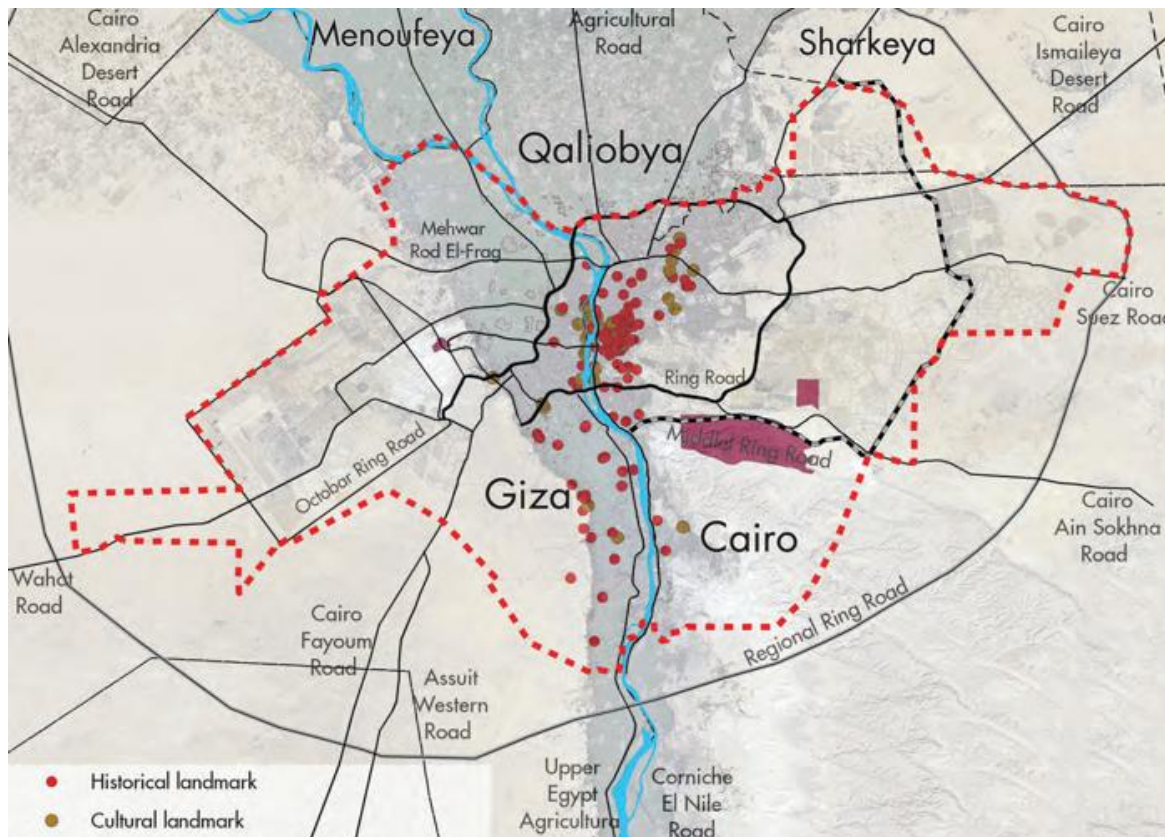


Figure 5-4 Cultural and historical landmarks within the context of GC.
Source: (UN-habitat,2017)

5.4 Tracing Historic Cairo Social and Urban Fabric

5.4.1 The Urban Fabric

Historic Cairo previously called “Islamic Cairo” constituted the city core since the foundation of the city in 969 AD until the end of the nineteenth century. During this time, there were minor urban construction and development projects outside the city walls that prevented the city

expansion. Whilst, Cairo was a typical Arabic-Islamic metropolis. It developed through a series of different periods starting with a Byzantine settlement called “Babylon” and a Coptic quarter. In the seventh century, the leader Amr Ibn el Ass founded a new settlement under the name of Al- Fustat that expanded from the seventh century until the ninth century to become an Islamic metropolis comprising two further districts Al-Askar and Al-Qata’I and beginning from this period Cairo classical period begun (Fig 5-5,5-6).

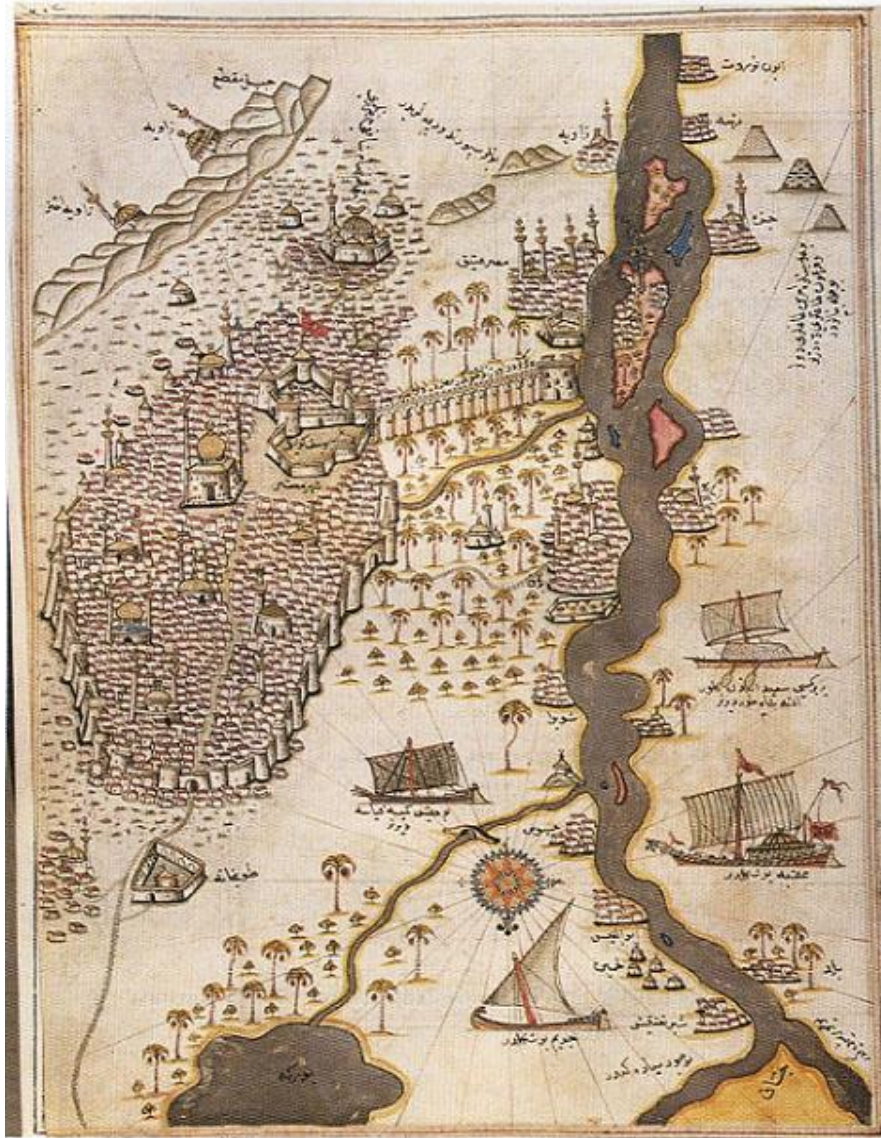


Figure 5-5 Map of old Cairo by Ottoman Admiral and Cartographer, Piri Reis.
Source: (Reis, 2017)

With the rule of ottomans, Egypt became an ottoman province and Cairo became an imperial capital city. During this period, the classical system weakened which led to a deterioration of services and institutional amenities within the quarters of the historic town. This deterioration and mismanagement continued until the French campaign came to Egypt which constituted a cultural shock to the Egyptian society. The inclusion of a considerable number of scientist and scholars within the French army allowed the transmission of the concept of enlightenment from Europe to Egypt after long years of isolation under the Mamluks and Ottomans rule (Sedky, 2009).

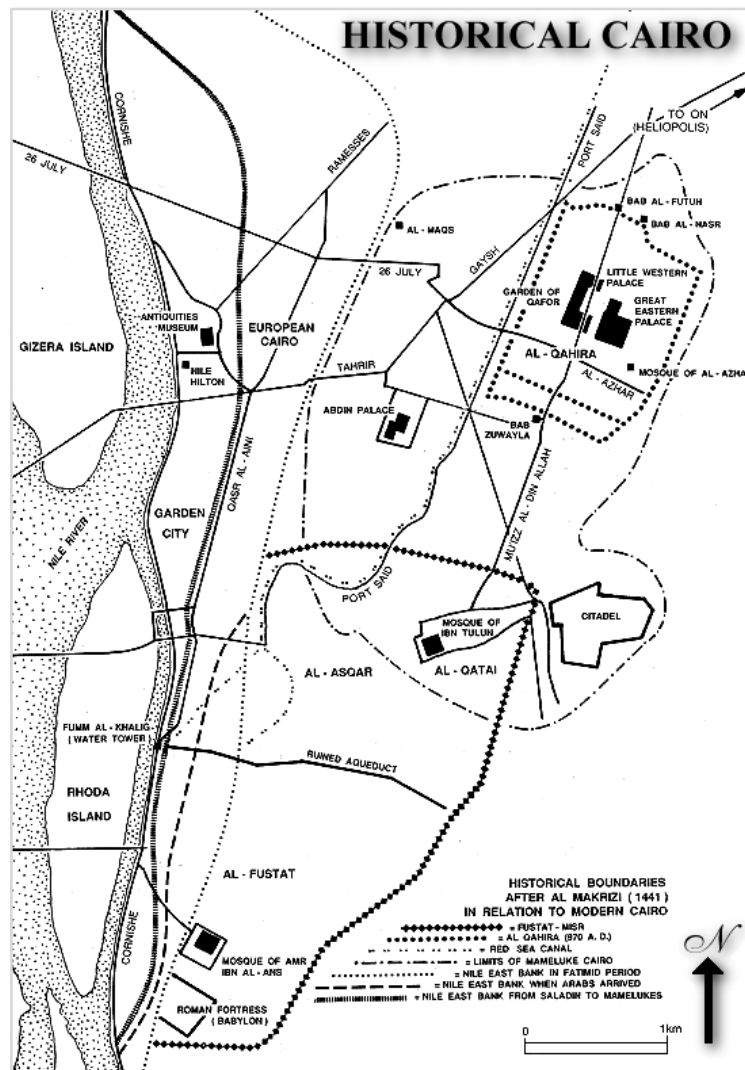


Figure 5-6 Historic Cairo Dynasties

Source: (Fahmi & Sutton, 2003).

With the rule of Muhammad Ali, the decentralized Islamic system of Egypt was then replaced by a regime of pre-planned and centralized administration. His minister of Public Works described the traditional vernacular urbanism as unhygienic (Mubarak, 1969) to the extent that elements of the traditional architecture such as the Mashrabeya were banned and a westernized European style was adopted (Fig 5-7;5-8). This trend has a great impact on the traditional building crafts .



Figure 5-7 the traditional Islamic style architecture in Sayeda Zeinab. Source: (CULTNAT LIBRARY, 2016)



Figure 5-8 European style architecture replacing the traditional Islamic architecture of the old city. Source:

Within the historic district, ruined traditional buildings were replaced by Italian-Ottoman style imported from the Balkan region. Some attempts to revive the Islamic architecture through Neo-Islamic style were made but they were non-authentic. The traditional elements of Islamic architecture were not encouraged to express Cairo identity. The major drawback of this area is that the traditional crafts were transformed from a “Folk” art into “High” art (Fathy, 1963). This has caused the death of traditional artefacts and workshops within historic quarters due to low demand.

Most of the development taking place at the beginning of the nineteenth century were European in style. Starting with Muhammad Ali to Khedive Ismail who wanted to build Paris along the Nile. Governmental buildings were designed by Italian architects, following a modern master plan with upgraded transport, education, healthcare, social amenities and physically separated the old city from the Nile by filling a canal on the west side of the old city and converting it into the road known now by Porsaid Street (Abdel-Jawad, 1949; Karim, 1952).

The city was filled with gardens with a large Garden City plan that has no relation with the old urban fabric. Although this era can be described as the most efficient regarding amenities and infrastructure, it could not confront the large population growth that increased from 200,000

people in 1850 to reach 600,000 people by 1900 (Robert & Hugh, 1985). This population growth left the area crowded and stressed and led to a transformation of its functions and activities, leaving the built environment in a chaotic situation.

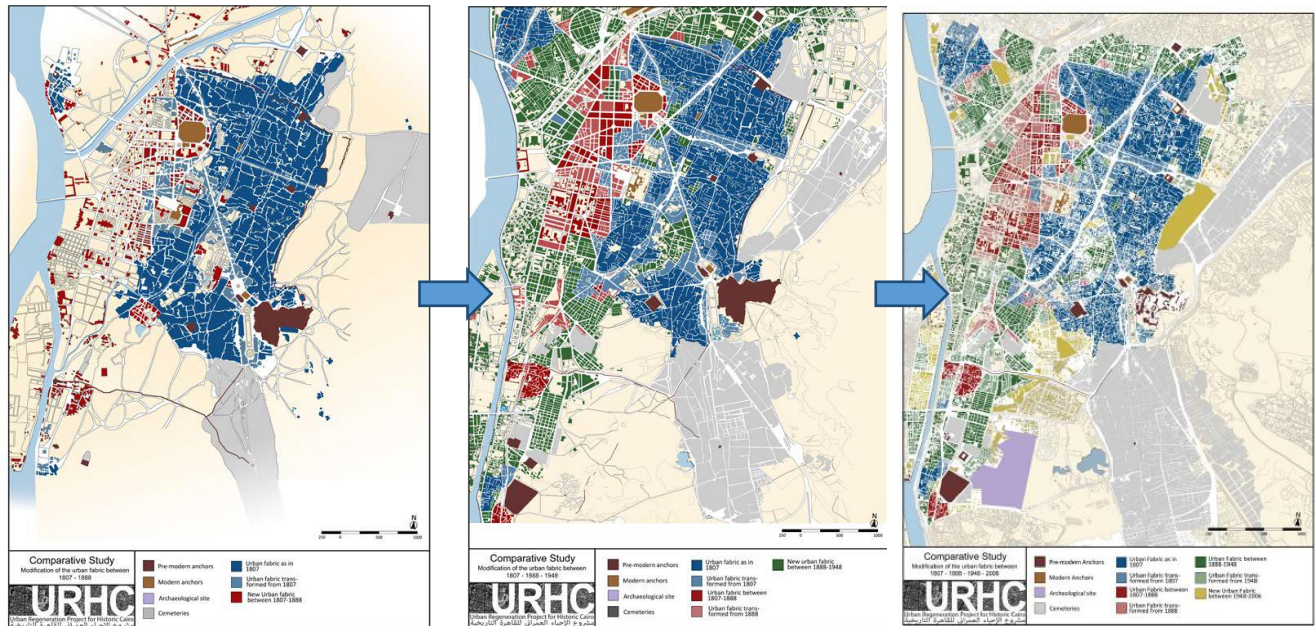


Figure 5-9 The Evolution of Historic Cairo urban Fabric. Source: (Urban Regeneration Project of Historic Cairo, 2014), Review Appendix for full size maps

This change in urban planning system had negative impacts on the historic areas and caused its loss of primary functions and major changes in its social structure. Most districts within the historic centre were subject of deterioration and declined into low income areas. With the continued expansion of the city and especially during the post revolution period (1952 onward) and the adoption of the policy of the "Infatih"¹ or "policy of opening the door", Historic Cairo took its present form and was transformed into recipient areas for the marginalized. In recent decades, historic areas have answered the need for housing for low income Cairenes and rural migrants. It became limited to low income working classes with insecure jobs and limited education or lower middle class with high education but with income not exceeding the low income working class (UNESCO, 2014). One can guess the social and educational level of Cairenes from where they live" (Sedky, 2009).

¹The "Infatih" or "policy of opening the door" was a policy adopted by the former Egyptian president Sadat to private investment in Egypt in the years following the 1973 October War.

5.4.2 The Social Fabric

In parallel with the urban transformation of the historic city, the local community has been in a state of transformation until present. The social structure of the city witnessed deplorable change since its establishment until present. Two centuries ago, the districts of the old city hosted residents from the middle and upper middle class. The District of Al-Darb Al-Ahmar and Al-Gamaleya were considered the wealthiest neighbourhoods in Cairo (El Rashidi, 2007). The most famous merchants of old Cairo resided there and their houses are still part of the urban fabric until present (Manzel Arab Kili, Al Khourazaty, Al Sehemy) Fig5-10 .



Figure 5-10 Al-Sehemy House in Al-Darb Al-Asfar, Al-Gamaleya
Source: author

With the city extension, the upper-class society moved to the new zones to the east and north east of the city to reside in the area between the Nile and the Mukkatam Hill escaping the overcrowded city centre. The construction of the Aswan high dam caused massive immigration to the urban centres of Egypt (SCA, 2002; Antoniou, 1999). With the movement of the wealthy class out of the city centre, they were replaced by migrants with different social values than those of the cultural context of the old centre (Abada, 2008; Cernea, 2008)

A focus on the social changes within the last thirty years (1985-2016), reveals that despite the success of specific interventions within Historic Cairo boundary, the area is still witnessing a steady physical deterioration in its urban fabric. Moreover, many historic urban corridors suffer from traffic congestion. Another noticed phenomenon is the growth of business and commercial

activities in Historic site which affect the resident's well-being (Zaghow, 2011). Now, Historic Cairo is inhabited by descendants of the craftsmen and merchants who lived and worked in the area for centuries. In addition, migrants from rural areas in Egypt are still to the present date moving to Cairo seeking jobs.

Year	1882	1897	1907	1917	1927	1937	1947	1960
Population	364,642	513,187	565,783	619,467	777,914	866,951	1,297,446	1,470,793
% change		40.74%	10.25%	9.49%	25.58%	11.45%	49.66%	13.36%
Year	1966	1976	1986	1996	2006			
Population	1,616,790	1,515,183	1,172,431	956,463	908,614			
% change	9.93%	-6.28%	-22.62%	-18.42%	-5.00%			

Table5-1 Declining Population of Target Qisms of Historical Cairo
Source: Egyptian Geographical Association Census

However, the strong traditional social patterns of the local communities have historically created a sense of belonging to the area through working and residing within historic Cairo (UNDP & SCA, 1997). Tracing the population demographics in Historic Cairo the area witnessed a noticeable decline in population starting from late sixties. The rate of population decline escalated between 1976 and 1986 (22.62%). Yet, this rate begun to slow down to reach 5% in 2006. Further, Historic Cairo is considered having the highest population density in greater Cairo Region. Data from Urban Survey 2007 - for the main agglomeration of Greater Cairo Region (GCR) in favour of Cairo 2050 project - reveals that the densities remain high but there is a noticeable decrease that is noticed beginning from 1976 until present.

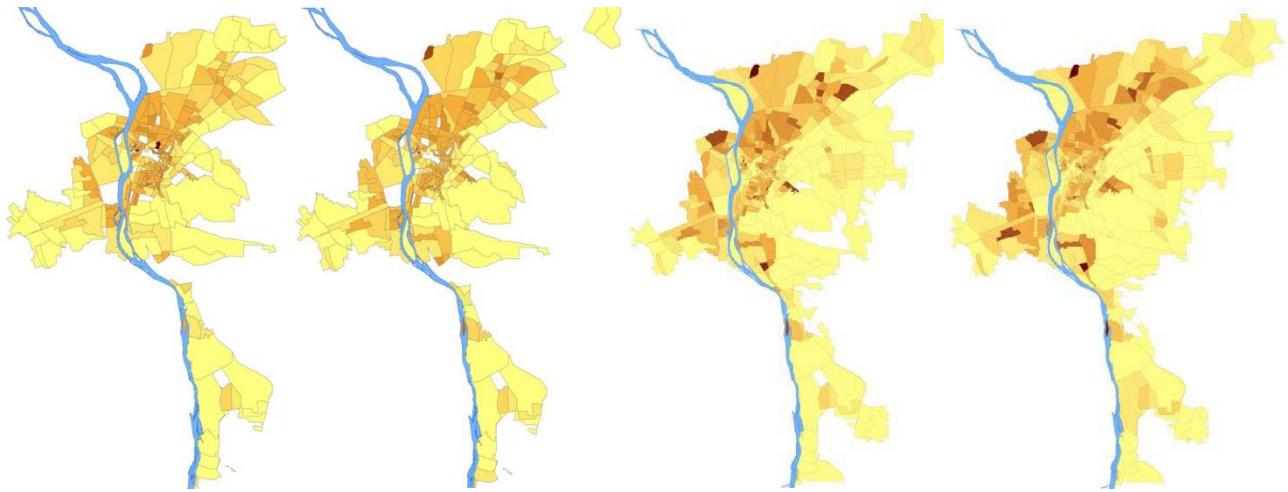


Fig 5-11 Density Distribution of Greater Cairo (1976-1986-1996-2010) showing density decrease in city centre with dark shades of oranges depicting higher density. Source: (Salheen & Hassan, 2012)

5.5 Rebuilding Historic Cairo Image: Post World Heritage Site Designation

Many efforts have been made to confront Historic Cairo problems. It all started following the area inscription on the world heritage sites list by UNESCO recognizing its “absolutely unquestionable historical, archaeological and urbanistic importance” (ICOMOS, 1979). The area inscription within the world heritage property was based on criteria I,V and VI including the following justifications:

I) Several of the great monuments of Cairo are incontestable masterpieces.

V) The centre of Cairo groups numerous streets and old dwellings and thus maintains, in the heart of the traditional urban fabric, forms of human settlement, which go back to the middle ages.

VI) The historic center of Cairo constitutes an impressive material witness to the international importance, on the political, strategic, intellectual and commercial level, of the city during the medieval period (ICOMOS, 1979).

To safeguard the area, numerous interventions and actions have been undertaken following the area designation until present that had a significant impact on the historic city. These interventions varied between conservation, rehabilitation projects, conservation studies and action plans.

5.5.1 Historic Cairo Delimitation

The revised delimitation of Historic Cairo identifies the term “Historic Cairo” as the specific zone in the centre of Cairo that witnessed several projects of area conservation and upgrading projects under the supervision of different governmental and international organizations. The historic urban centre of Cairo comprises a huge amount of monumental and heritage buildings that goes beyond 600 buildings (UNESCO, 2012).

The Medieval city includes Fatimid Cairo, Al-Fustat Area (Coptic Cairo) and the urban fabric between Al-Fustat and the southern city gates of Al-Qahera. This medieval city expanded to the south and north direction due to the topography. The Nile prevented expansion towards the west and the Mukkatam hills towards the east. The newly defined zone of historic Cairo is bounded by the northern city walls and Galal street to the north; Portsaid street to the west; Al-Mansurya street to the south and Salah Salem highway and el Katamyah highway to the east. In October 2007, the SCA submitted maps concerning the historic city delimitation to the UNESCO-WHC. These maps represent the only official document that concerns the delimitation of the historic city. The map was based on previous maps of historic Cairo and were basically covering five core zones and three buffer zones.



Figure 5-12 The five core zones of the Historic Cairo submitted to the World Heritage committee by the SCA(SCA,2006).

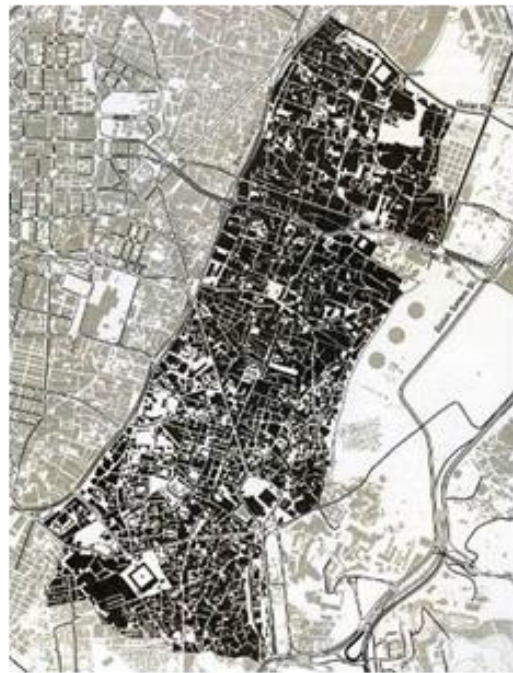


Figure 5-13: Zone 1 representing the study area of the Historic Cairo project under the umbrella of Ministry of Culture. Source:(URHC,2011).

Zone 1: Al-Fustat area (including the mosque of Amr, the Coptic Complex and the archaeological site) ; **Zone 2:** The Fatimid Nucleus together with the Citadel area and the area around the mosque of Ahmed Ibn Tulun ; **Zone 3 :** Al-Imam ash-Shafi'i Necropolis ; **Zone 4:** As-Sayyeda Nafisa Necropolis ; **Zone 5:** The Qaytbay Necropolis. The study selected the three major districts of Historic Cairo where major interventions took place: The rehabilitation of Historic Cairo project in the district of Al-Gamaleya, The Aga Khan Trust of Culture (AKTC) in the district of Al-Darb Al-Ahmar and the community oriented activities organized by “Megawra built environment” in the Al-Khalifa. However, the aim is not a district comparison, the aim is to monitor the changes that occurred in the physical environment through time and relate it to the place perception. The selection of these areas was due to their significant approaches and outcomes. Moreover, the zone under the study constitutes the core of Historic Cairo that was represented in the UNESCO study in 1980 and the UNDP 1997.

5.5.2 Physical Transformations of The Old City Between 1985-2016

Following the inclusion of Historic Cairo on the world heritage list, the Egyptian Government requested from the UNESCO to propose a report for a conservation strategy for the old city. In 1980, members of this missions made several visits from February to August 1980. This report formulated a practical conservation strategy for specific areas within Historic Cairo that needed immediate intervention over a period of five years. Since this date Historic Cairo has been the subject of many studies and urban conservation and rehabilitation projects by both national and international organizations (See Appendix). These interventions were scattered within the urban fabric of Historic Cairo. This approach has been seen by many to help increasing awareness of the significance of the area and its preservation (UNESCO, 2012; Sutton & Fahmi, 2003; Salah Ouf, 2002).

However, a considerable amount of these projects remains mere blueprints and the deterioration of specific zones of Historic Cairo continued and has been accelerated after the 1992 earthquake (Sedky, 2009). Moreover, some of these efforts were criticized for many reasons including its adoption of different concepts of conservation, its top down approach and the exclusion of residents who live and experience the place daily and form an important element of the place values.

These interventions are located within four main districts in the Historic city: Al-Darb Al-Ahmar, Al-Gamaleya ,Al-Khalifa and Masr Al-Qadima (an archaeological site).

As a result following the 1992 earthquake² The Ministry of Culture (MoC),in collaboration with the world heritage convention WHC (UNESCO URHC Team, 2012) organized an International Symposium on the conservation and restoration of Islamic Cairo ³ to alter conservation strategies that consider and involves residents (UNDP & SCA, 1997). This shift in the perception of heritage moved towards the consideration of the urban morphology of the built environment encompassing the monuments and its surroundings including the social, economic and cultural features. Table 5-2 represents a timeline of the interventions that occurred in the area from 1980 till present:

²The 1992 earthquake hit the center of Cairo and had a magnitude of 5.8, but was unusually destructive for its size, causing 545 deaths, injuring 6,512 and making 50,000 people homeless.

³Islamic Cairo was used to refer to Historic Cairo before the area of Masr el Qadima was added to it.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Project</i>	<i>Actors</i>	<i>Objectives</i>
1980	The conservation of old city of Cairo UNESCO	-UNESCO Study	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identify main problems facing the historic city. • Defining six main clusters of architectural ensembles in need of direct conservation efforts. • The consideration of the social, economic and environmental aspect to improve quality of life.
1994-2001	Al-Darb Al-Asfar Alley Rehabilitation Project	-Ministry of Culture (MoC) -Supreme Council of Antiquity (SCA) -Kuwait based Arab Fund for Social and Economic Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Restoration of historical buildings • Urban rehabilitation • Community participation • Quality of life improvement
1997	UNDP Report Rehabilitation of Historic Cairo	-UNDP -Supreme Council of Antiquity (SCA)	Define a strategy of urban conservation for Historic Cairo covering the following <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The community, targeting poverty alleviation. • The physical environment, targeting cultural heritage, urban fabric, infrastructure, and transportation. • The urban management system, policies and guidelines to reinforce the implementation of the previous two components.
1998-2006	Historic Cairo Restoration Project (HCRP)	Centers for Studies and Developments of Historic Cairo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The restoration of 147 listed and 48 unlisted historic monuments in eight years. • The establishment of “Centre for Studies and Development of Historic Cairo (CSDHC)”, affiliated to the MoC. The center oversaw studying and coordinating development works carried out at the site.
1999-2002	The Old Cairo Rehabilitation Project. Mugama’ Al Adyan (Religious complex)	-Ministry of Tourism (MoT) -Cairo Governorate -Italian-Egyptian Debt for Development Swat Program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Buildings renovation (houses and shops) • Improvement of public services • The upgrade of open spaces in the surrounding streets and on the boundaries of the Coptic quarter • Revitalization of traditional art and crafts

2000- Present	Al-Darb Al-Ahmar Revitalization Project	-AKTC Agha Khan Trust for Culture -Cairo Governorate -Supreme Council of Antiquity (SCA) -Community organizations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Micro-credit for business development • Housing rehabilitation • Employment-generation • Monument restoration • Adaptive reuse of historical buildings • Infrastructure and open spaces improvement projects
2002-2004	Al-Sayeda Zeinab Revitalization Project	-Ministry of Tourism (MoT) -Cairo Governorate -The Paris Urbanism Agency "Atelier Parisien d'Urbanisme" (APUR). -French Ministry of Foreign Affairs.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improve urban areas around monuments along the religious path of the Prophet Mohammed's descendants, <i>Ahl al-Bayt</i>, • Infrastructure upgrade • Renovation of residential houses, shops and open spaces • Community participation
2010-2013	URHC		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prepare management tools necessary for the conservation of the heritage values, socio-economic revitalization and environmental upgrading • Delimitation of the World Heritage property and its buffer zone. • Creation of a shared information system. • A strategic planning and management system. • Conservation and development planning. • Consultations with the relevant administrations. • Raising awareness amongst the public through "Public events, festivals, children events and storytelling, street signage and logos"

Table 5-2 Interventions timeline within Historic Cairo

Source: Author

5.5.2.1 The UNDP Rehabilitation of Historic Cairo

The 1980 UNESCO plan offered various recommendations concerning the improvement of physical conditions in the site within the 1980 UNESCO report (UNESCO, 1980). Although, this plan was not implemented, the UNDP and SCA worked together to develop a framework based on this plan. This framework highlighted the main factors influencing Historic Cairo image including interrelation between activities, transport and infrastructure. The proposed framework target the development within five urban zones in Historic Cairo as follows: The Heritage Corridor, The 19th Century Corridor, The Institutional Corridor, The Community Zone and the Transformation Zone (Fig5-14). Consecutive steps were taken to implement this framework: First, the identification of neighbourhoods that needed direct interventions and that suffered from deteriorating socio-economic conditions. Second, the analysis of spatial components of the built environment highlighting cultural heritage, urban fabric, land use, activities, traffic, infrastructure and accessibility. The plan considered that the implementation of the rehabilitation strategy should consider urban policies and community participation as tools for

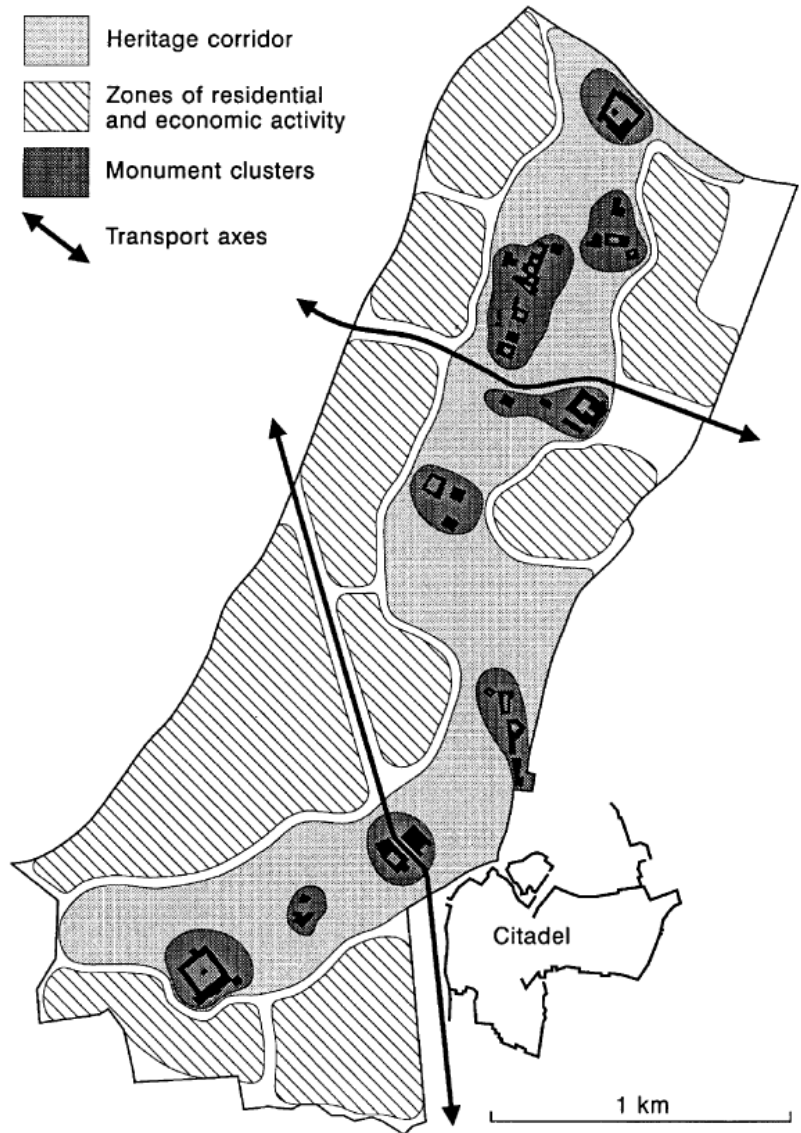


Figure 5-14 Map presented within UNDP plan showing clusters of monuments within the study zone
Source: (UNDP & SCA, 1997)

protecting Historic Cairo heritage values
(UNESCO, 2014)

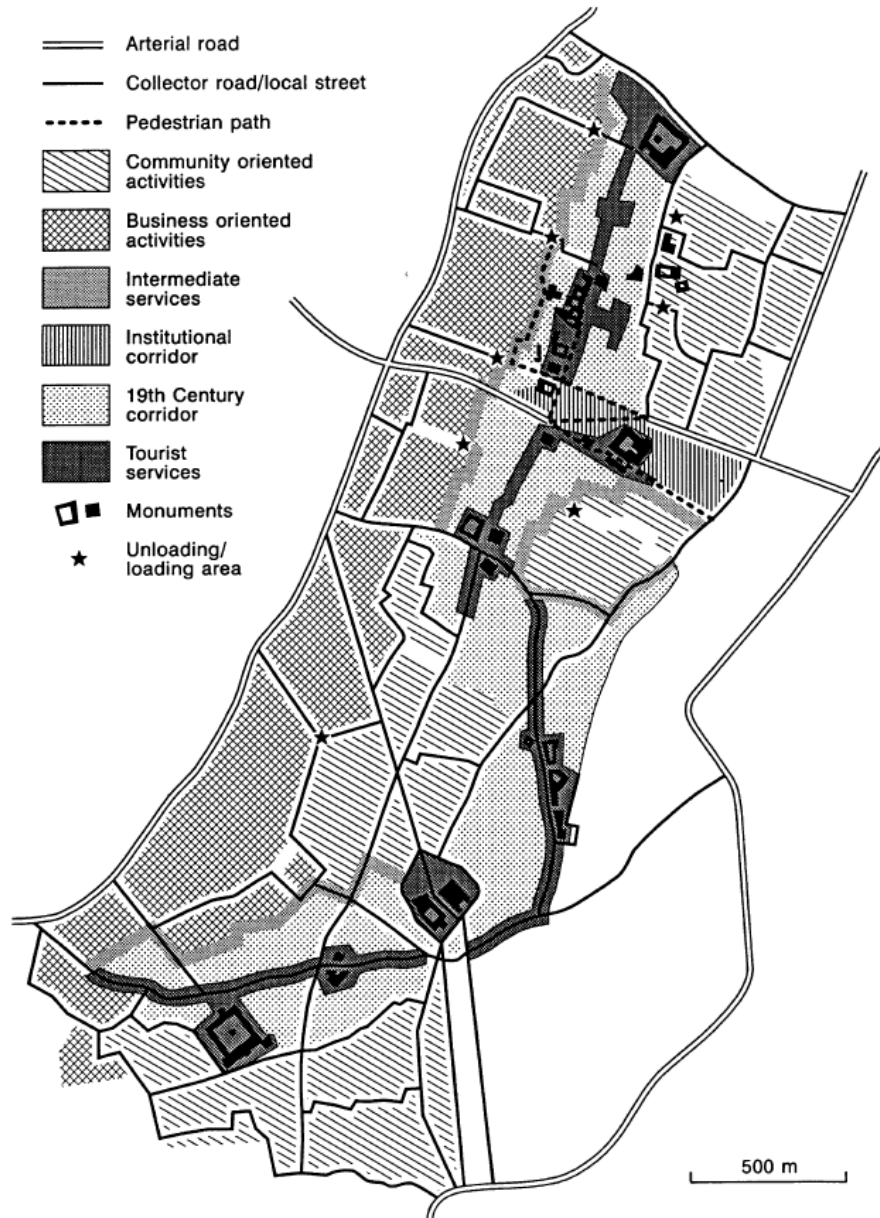


Figure 5-15 The UNDP Rehabilitation Plan covering
Three Qisims Al-Gamaleya, Al-Drab Al-Ahmar and parts
of Al-Khalifa
Source: (UNDP & SCA, 1997)

“The Egyptian government supported agreed with UNESCO to update it and progress from it with the concurrent impacts of rapid demographic, environmental, urban, and cultural changes in the area” (Rashed, 2013). This project schema had resulted in the isolation between governmental work in conservation projects and the local residents who are affected by the projects (SCA, 2002). Consequently, this isolation led to many controversies from the local community as a result from being marginalized from the decision-making process. By this time, they considered that these interventions prioritize tourism development (UNDP & SCA, 1997). Moreover, the initial framework was not totally implemented and the focus was given only to the heritage corridor zone.

The main critique that was given to this project -when implemented-is that it did not pursue a comprehensive strategy that considers the social aspect of the site. Preference where given to monuments conservation without the consideration of the local community. Despite this critic, the project contributed in the transformation of Historic Cairo image through monuments conservation and streetscape improvements. Moreover, this project was densely displayed in the media post its completion and specifically Al-Mui’z street heritage corridor that is now one of the most famous streets in Cairo .

5.5.2.2 Al-Darb Al-Ahmar Revitalization Project ADDA

“The array of HCSP projects in Cairo follows this integrated approach and is the Trust’s boldest attempt to date to achieve interrelated conservation and development objectives” (AKTC, 2001)

Following the 1984 conference “Expanding Metropolis: Coping with the Urban Growth of Cairo”, The Agha Khan foundation decided to donate a public open space to the citizens of Cairo. A thirty-hectare site was selected to implement the project due to its location at the centre of Historic Cairo. The hilly site is surrounded by the significant districts of the old city, to the west the Fatimid nucleus and its extension, Al-Darb Al Ahmar to the south the Sultan Hassan Mosque and the Ayubid Citadel and to the east “the city of the dead” . The site hilly nature has provided elevated viewpoints that offers panoramic views of the old city skyline (AKTC, 2005a).



Fig 5-16 Al-Darb Al-Ahmar from top left 1920, to right 1992, bottom left 2000.

Source (AKTC, 2005a)

Bottom right 2016. Source: Author

The construction of Al Azhar Park in the year 2004 has created opportunities for parallel developments in the district of Al Darb Al Ahmar. Although it is an impoverished district that faces numerous social and economic challenges, Al-Darb Al-Ahmar conserved its originality if compared to other districts in the historic city such as Al-Gamaleya that was altered by tourism and commercial activities.

Since the year 2000 and with reference to the UNDP rehabilitation project of Historic Cairo 1997, a series of rehabilitation projects were adopted by AKTC together with partners agencies, Cairo Governorate, the SCA and the local community in Al-Darb Al-Ahmar. The aim is to sustain what is already in place, achieve cumulative improvements of the area and avoid the approach that calls for mega transformation of the site through mega projects (AKTC, 2005b).

The project developed a series of interventions that targets social, economic and physical development of the site. However, these interventions did not cover the whole district of Al-Darb Al Ahmar but were mostly located adjacent to the eastern city wall. “The project succeeded in reusing only four complexes of the 65 registered significant monuments which now have different functions in ADAA (Nour, 2010).

The first step was the re-integration of monuments and old buildings and traditional open spaces into the resident’s everyday life. Moreover, considering the multi-dimensional social and cultural character of the area, physical, social and economic actions are not sufficient to achieve the project goals, institutional capacity building was perceived by the project managers as a fundamental step. Consequently, the project fostered the establishment of local NGOs within Al-Darb Al Ahmar to be able to continue the work with little support from AKTC. As mentioned earlier, the developments were focused in the eastern edge of the district in three action areas: Burg Al-Zafar, Aslam neighbourhood and Bab El Wazir.

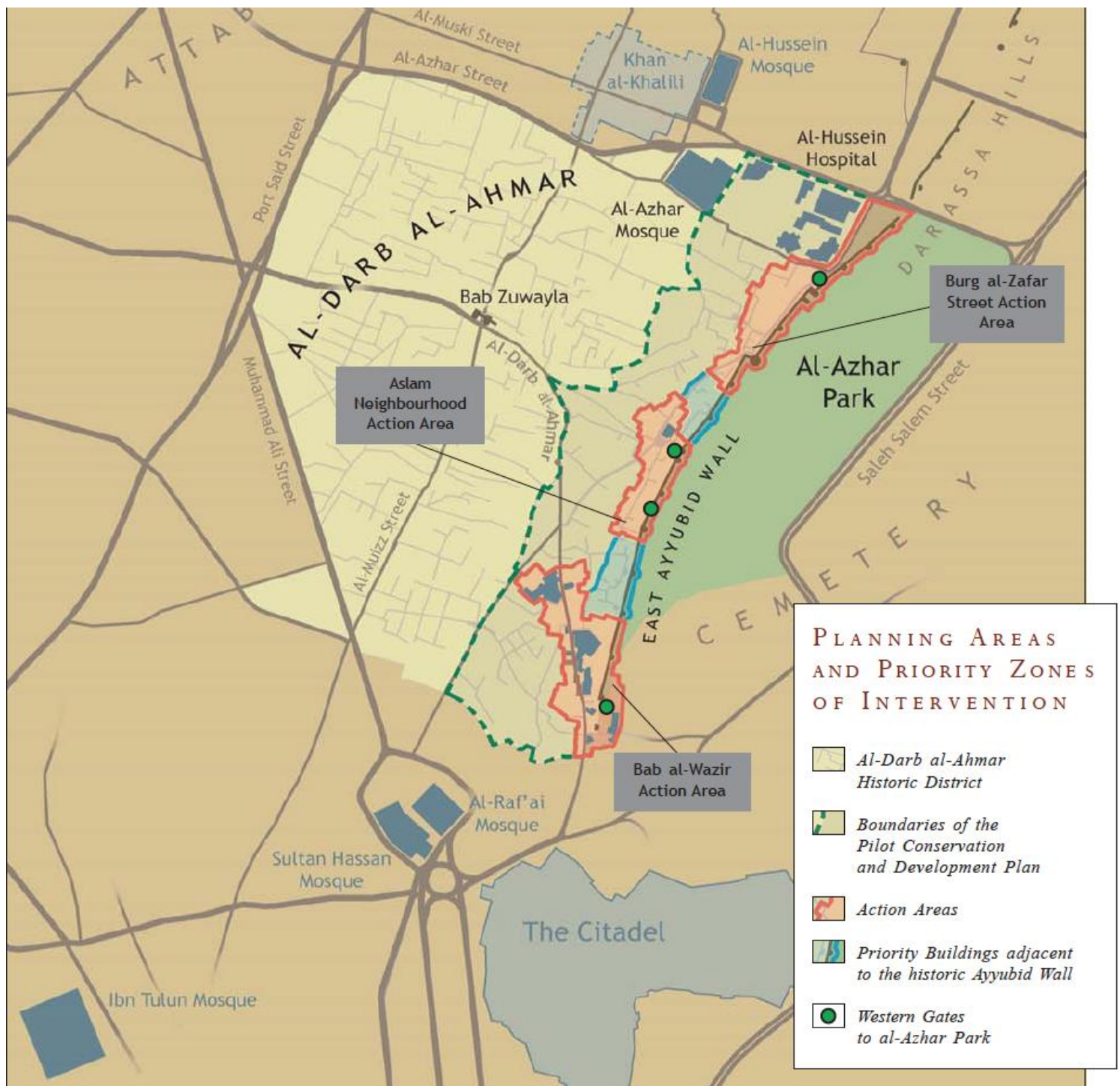


Figure 5-17 Actions Areas and Interventions Zones in Al Darb Al-Ahmar
Source: AKTC, 2005b

▪ Burg al-Zafar Street

This action area is located within proximity of various attractions in Historic Cairo, it is within a short walking distance from the famous Bazaar of Khan Al-Khalili and directly south to Al-Azhar complex. It also faces the new Al-Azhar Park and the newly excavated Eastern Ayubid wall and its annexed archaeological site. This special location makes the area promising in terms of investments and new developments. However, the area is suffering from major decline in its physical environment. The street of Burg Al-Zafar bears a high number of deteriorated structures and vacant plots along the historic wall. Beginning from the seventies, the area witnessed major decline and held a bad reputation because of drug trafficking. One of the classics of Egyptian cinema produced in 1980 covered a story about drug dealer's families in the area and was titled "Al-Batneya" under the name of the shyakha. This deterioration escalated following the 1992 earthquake and the Darassa Hill was used as a dumping ground until the late nineties. These poor conditions of the neighbourhood in addition to its rough reputation in drug dealing prevented any kind of developments in the area, even the unplanned developments that reshaped other districts within the historic town (AKTC, 2001).

The opening of Al-Azhar park has been perceived by many of the area residents as a new opportunity for this district. During focus group sessions a number of participants mentioned the positive outcomes of the park. Salah, a tent maker who lived and worked in the area for more than thirty years stated: "Al-Azhar Park is our gate to the external world, it opens a new market for us"(El Hakeh, A. 2016,March 29.Focus group Interview). Further, the project has altered the place into a safer zone, this can be noticed from the street activities and the establishment of new residential buildings. The dumping ground in Al-Darassa Hill was replaced by Al-Azhar park. Aly ,a carpenter who owns a workshop in Aslam square and lives adjacent to the Historic wall in a building overlooking the park remarks: "Before Al-Azhar Park project, it was really difficult for us to live here, the smell that came from the huge dump was unsupportable, now we have greeneries and nice scenes, it is very different than before for us and for our children"(El Hakeh, A. 2016, March 29. Focus group Interview). What distinguishes this neighbourhood from other neighbourhoods in Al-Darb Al-Ahmar is its easy accessibility from other parts of Cairo due to its

direct location on major streets Al-Azhar street from the north and Salah Salem Highway from the east (AKTC, 2005a).

The interventions in this neighbourhood relied massively on the existence of famous monuments within its vicinity, starting with the restoration of two merchants houses of Zeinab Al-Khatoun and Hawary houses by the Ministry of Culture in 1990, the two houses are now used as cultural centres that host a variety of events and performances all year long. This restoration project contributed in attracting visitors to the Al-Darb Al-Ahmar in altering the image of the area and were among the first monuments to be rehabilitated within Historic Cairo. The AKTC project had another role in reshaping this negative image with the conservation project that took place in eastern the Ayubid wall and specifically within the defensive tower Burg Al-Mahruq that is in this section of the wall. This tower was rehabilitated to be used as an exhibit space and the discovered Bab-Al Barqiya was restored to be a gateway to the park.

The project also suggested the different strategies for housing development and specifically in this zone due to the existence of a considerable number of vacant plots. A pilot project took place in Atfet Al-Asaad –a residential cul-de-sac by the old wall. In addition to housing rehabilitation various infrastructure projects were undertaken by lowering the roadways that were built on top of the wall and removal of debris rerouting pipes and cables

▪ **Aslam Neighborhood**

The Aslam Neighbourhood is one of the densest neighbourhoods in Historic Cairo, located in the east of Al-Darb Al-Ahmar and near the famous southern gate of Fatimid nucleus “Bab el Wazir”. It is considered a major centre for traditional crafts workshops engaged in carpentry, tent making, metalwork, leather and stained glass that are still active until present. Moreover, the area possesses a considerable number of unique listed buildings and monuments. The major node in the area is the well-known monument -Aslam Al Selehdar Mosque- and its surrounding square that is considered the only open space within the dense neighbourhood fabric. The square and its surrounding streets are considered a commercial hub for residents where many coffee shops, bakeries and grocery stores are located.

Like other parts in the Historic City, a major socio-economic decline occurred in the area following the 1992 earthquake. One of the mentioned reasons behind this decline was the recession of traditional crafts and their inability to compete in the open market due to low equipment and poor marketing strategies (Rashed,2013;Sedky,2009;AKTC,2005). The opening of the gate of “Bab el Mahruq” between the area and the park constitutes a communication channel to the rest of Cairo bringing visitors from all over Cairo and even from other governorates to vitalize the local crafts and boost the local economy.

The interventions in this section relied on small scale urban interventions and traditional crafts development, several houses were selected for restoration around Darb Shughlan, in addition a former abandoned school building was restored and converted into a community centre that host multiple activities for women and children. Several workshops were established for both industrial and training activities for residents to prepare them to take part in building restorations and in furniture production. Now, vocational training programs are offered to residents of the area through various crafts schools that were established under the AKTC umbrella.

▪ **Bab al-Wazir**

This action area is in the southern section of Al-Darb Al-Ahmar district. Its main spine Al-Darb Al-Ahmar street connects it with Al-Khalifa district - another prominent area in Historic Cairo- that encompasses several medieval mosques and historic houses: Ayubid citadel, Ibn Tulun Mosque and Mohamed Aly Mosque. Another part of the district along Bab Al Wazir street contains monuments and houses of Historic interest. However, many of these monuments are neglected and have been transformed into informal rubbish dumps.

Therefore, the interventions within this part of the district relied heavily on existing monuments as a catalyst for development. The start was through the restoration of a few key monuments: the Khayrbek Complex and the Madrasa of Um al Sultan Shabaan. In 2003, the AKTC reconstructed the Minaret of the Blue Mosque within Khayer Beck complex.

Within this part of the district, the AKTC proposed a number of initiatives concerning monuments protection, infrastructure upgrade ,improvement of public service and open spaces

around the monuments. Some of these initiatives were funded by other partners (Bayt al-Razzaz, one of Cairo's finest Ottoman residences, currently being restored by the American Research Centre in Egypt), however the larger portion is still merely blue prints and awaits sufficient funding.

Al Azhar Park Project has been described by Bianca as "transforming and enhancing the image of the area as a whole, no longer a 'backyard' but an attractive foreground for Al-Darb Al-Ahmar" (Bianca, 2010, p.255).

The AKTC project has been recognized for its positive outcomes and its contribution in improving Historic Cairo image. The park is considered a catalyst for the different approaches of development not only in Al-Darb Al-Ahmar but on the neighbouring districts in the Historic city (Salama,2008).The local authorities considered this project a starting point for both public and private investment in the area (UNESCO,2014;Hawas, 2013; UNESCO,2012; Ibrahim & El Rashidi,2010; Morbidoni & Allegretti, 2010; Sedky, 2009).

5.5.2.3 Urban Conservation in Al-Khalifa

Al Khalifa district has been subject to scattered interventions following the 2011 revolution. Also, a large regeneration project took place in the neighbourhood of Darb Al-labbana aiming tourism activities. The URHC project under -UNESCO Umbrella- has proposed a regeneration strategy of the district within three main neighbourhood surrounding major landmarks: the Ayubid Citadel, Sultan Hassan Mosque and Ibn Tulun Mosque (Fig 5-18). The project proposed different forms of interventions: monuments restoration, rehabilitation of housing stock, development of cultural and tourism related activities, improvement of urban environment with a focus on public open spaces and improve various forms of communication and promotional activities including: signage design, brochures and the design of a logo for Historic Cairo.

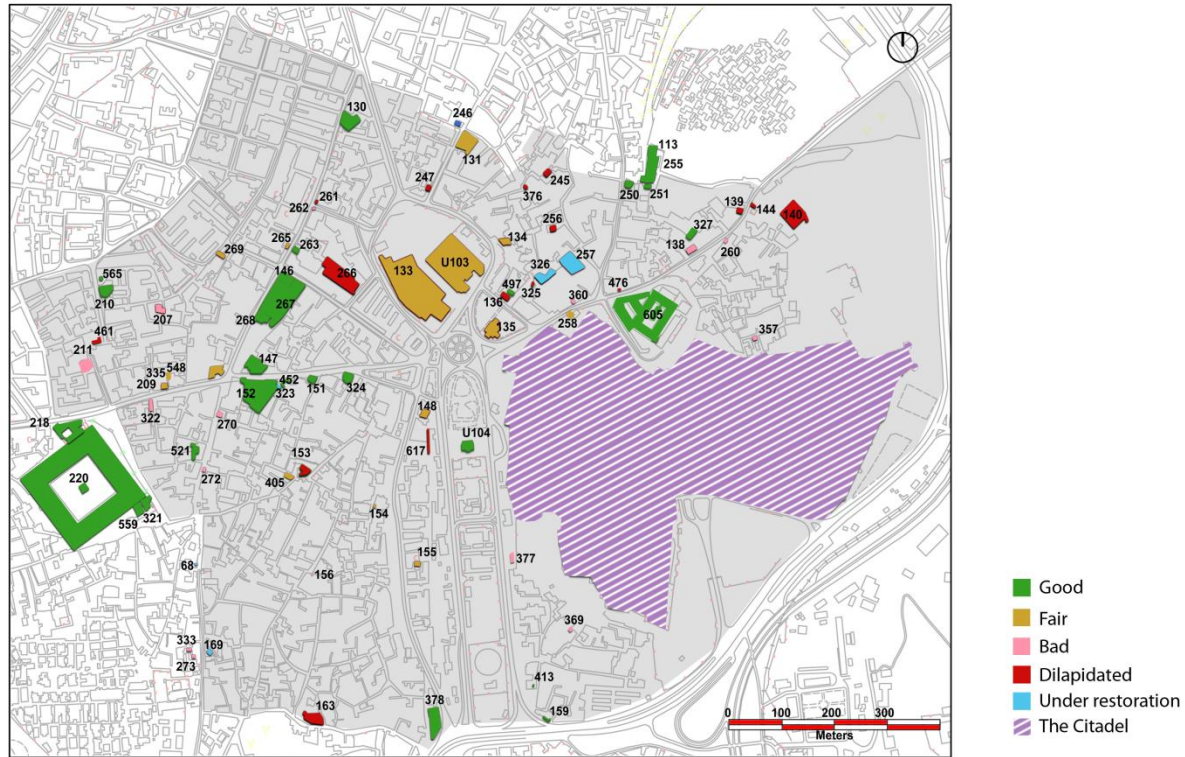


Figure 5-18 Proposed action area in Al Khalifa district, showing monuments state of conservation. Source: (UNESCO, Urban Regeneration Project For Historic Cairo: Second Report of Activity, 2014).

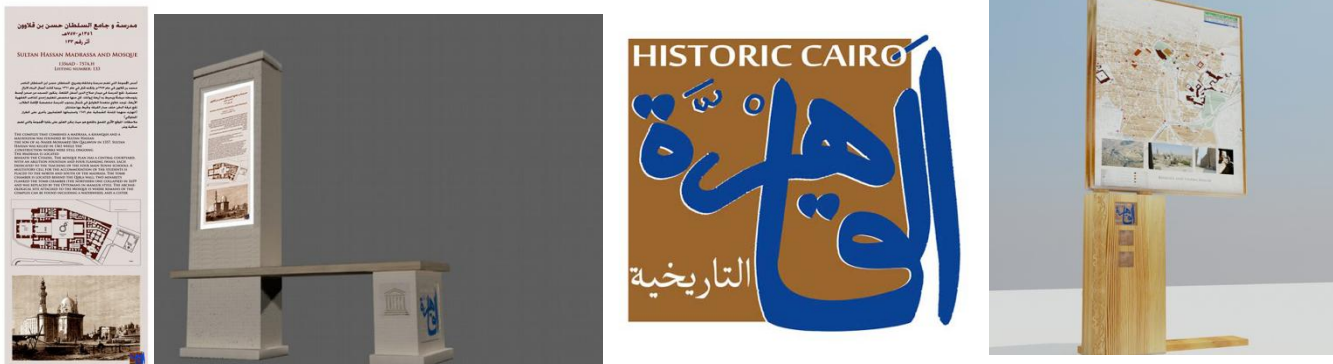


Figure 5-19 Proposed communication tools for the site. Source: (UNESCO, Urban Regeneration Project For Historic Cairo: Second Report of Activity, 2014)

Another form of intervention in Historic Cairo started in the year 2011 through the relocation of the NGO “Megawra Built Environment” in Al-Khalifa district. The Built Environment Collective NGO initial aim was to connect architects, urbanists and academics with heritage enthusiasts and governmental entities towards achieving better conservation objectives in Historic Cairo. A community centre was established in one of the oldest urban corridors in the historic city, Al-Khalifa street. A half-finished mosque dating from 1920 was rehabilitated and used as the current cultural space and community centre for the area residents.

The organization runs several parallel projects involved in conservation and restoration through “Athar Lana” or “Heritage is ours” initiative. Since 2012 until present three buildings in Al-Khalifa street were restored “Shagaret Al-Dor” Mausoleum the first Muslim women ruling Egypt, the shrine of “Sayida Ruqaya” believed to be prophet Muhammad Granddaughter that contains the larger Mehrab (Prayer Niche) in Egypt and the domes of Al-Ja’afari and Sayidda Atika. Moreover, the organization is concerned with projects aiming to promote heritage awareness and connect monuments with residents. Residents of Al-Khalifa talked about how the rehabilitation of this old mosque and its reuse as a community centre made difference to them, they stated that it was a mosque that was built on the foundation of an old mosque but it was in ruin. “This place used to be a dump area before they came, now they make really good activities for everyone, the kids enjoy going there” said one of the shop owners in Al-Khalifa street.

The organization meant to use a different approach in conservation which differs from the top down approaches that were implemented elsewhere and concentrates on the importance of the monument context (Al-Ibrashy, 2017). Therefore, the organization works on two approaches: building restoration and community development through the organization of awareness campaigns, summer schools for children, workshops, seminars, walking tours and storey telling in different zones within the district. In addition, the organization aims to improve the living environment for residents in collaboration with Cairo governorate and ministry of housing to address infrastructure improvement plans.

5.6 The Current Status

Historic Cairo was subject of different approaches of image building; the goal was to transform the historic city into a cultural hub for Cairenes, Egyptians and international visitors. These visions were endorsed by governmental bodies and international organizations. However, residents of the historic city were mostly marginalized due to the centralized system in Egypt where only the state is in charge of the major decisions. Hence, evaluating Historic Cairo image from the residents standpoint is desirable and specifically due to the political and economic transformations that the country is witnessing since the 2011 political upraise .

The main problem of Historic Cairo is a particularly complex problem due to the three interest groups as mentioned earlier. Each of these groups has its own demands, perspectives and priorities when dealing with Historic Cairo. Moreover, with the political upraise in Egypt in 2011, the problem has accelerated; tourism which constituted a leading source of income for this site has declined severely. Further, the absence of executive power has threatened historic sites through the violation of building codes and urban planning norms. Cochrane and Tapper stated that the majority of world heritage sites operational funding has increasingly relied on tourist revenues (Cochrane & Tapper, 2006). In the case of Historic Cairo, the review of more than three decades of interventions (in form of building conservation, rehabilitation and urban regeneration) shows that these type of projects are failing to meet sustainable plans that answer the need of the local population in terms of social and economic upgrade. The review of the various approaches showed that there are no strategic attempts to generate a beneficial and correlative relationship between site managers and local residents . Examining this relationship contributes in presenting solutions for this issue through an internal brand framework for Historic Cairo that communicates the internal audience needs and expectations towards the site. The research findings demonstrates opportunities for interventions through more sustainable means for the site that includes the area residents as main players in the site development . The world heritage site management should focus on building a strong relation and a more communicative approach with the site population in order to regain trust with the external consumer. Therefore, there is a need for an "inclusive" marketing framework. "educating people about the site and its cultural history surrounding them is deemed part of the world's heritage" (UNESCO,2016b).

5.7 Summary

The various interventions that took place within the historic city mainly aimed heritage conservation and restoring Historic Cairo image. However, their approaches and implementations to achieve these objectives varied widely. With the beginning of the action within the historic site, many of the development schemas contradicted many of the urban conservation theories and this was expressed in 1998 study and the international charter. Most the work performed merely focused on the conservation of buildings and maintenance of urban fabric and discounted the social aspect (Sedky, 2009). In addition, the projects were criticized for overlooking the meaning and authenticity of the district (Rashed, 2013). This schema was evident in the UNESCO proposal in 1980 where the focus was given to the physical aspects whilst concept of cultural sustainability and community values were over passed. However, Salama described the AKTC project as a comprehensive project that acknowledged a comprehensive approach in urban conservation (Salama, 2000).

Until present time, there are several conservation efforts taking place within Historic Cairo, the UNHCR Project can be considered as an attempt to present a clear vision and a more holistic approach to conservation within Historic Cairo. Despite criticism, a holistic look on the development projects reveals that it brought major physical, economic and social changes to the site. The main challenge in the conservation efforts in Historic Cairo is that they took place in scattered areas within the Historic Site across long periods of time, which could have a deep effect on the perception of the area by its residents .

This chapter has presented an in-depth description of the recent and ongoing interventions within Historic Cairo. This timeline review sets the ground to inspect the effects of these interventions - with their various approaches over a long period of time on the perceived image of Historic Cairo. The overall concept retrieved from this review that the interventions aims and interpretations altered considerably through time to adopt a more inclusive approach that works on the local community needs. The coming chapter investigates the effects of physical interventions on the perception of place image. It concentrates on the residents perceived image and investigates correlation between the awareness of heritage and their perception of positive outcomes.

CHAPTER SIX: ANALYZING HISTORIC CAIRO IMAGE

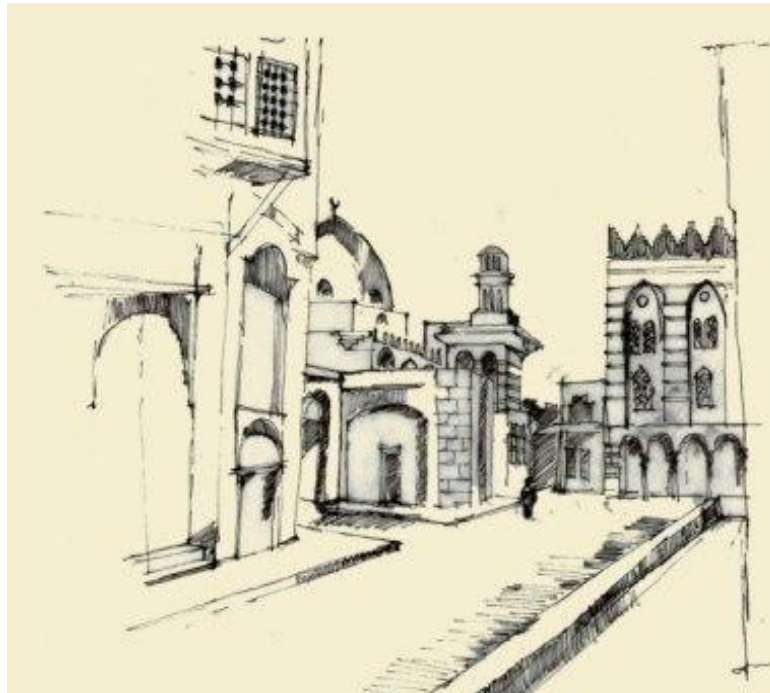


FIG 6-1 Sketch in Al-Gamaleya. Source: author

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“Many cultural heritage monuments and sites have special qualities that evoke a particularly meaningful connection, recognition and belonging. This can mainly be attributed to two conditions: either to specific events and people associated with a site, or to traditions and continuity of usage in the area.” (Riksantikvaren 2001, p. 11)

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented detailed descriptions of various interventions that took place within Historic Cairo. In the process of transforming the old city image, much emphasis has been placed on physical actions and specifically built heritage conservation, rehabilitation and regeneration of historic buildings and major corridors. The actions concerning intangible actions and social improvements only received later attention as if the changes that occurred in Historic Cairo were merely the results of physical transformations. However to reach a comprehensive evaluation of the city image the analysis of physical elements should be complemented. Therefore, the perceptions of local residents towards their living environment should be inspected. This chapter aims to highlight the different image dimensions that were affected by these interventions and to inspect its effect on the overall Historic Cairo image. The chapter also examine whether these changes generated a positive attitude towards the area and increased resident's satisfaction of historic Cairo as a place to live.

The aim of the survey instrument is to analyze the current image of Historic Cairo from the local community perspective. This general aim of the analysis can be subdivided into minor objectives as follows: Identify the elements that forms the Historic Cairo image, evaluate the influence of the urban development interventions on Historic Cairo image, relate these influences on residents satisfaction and place attachment and finally, develop an evaluation model for Historic Cairo image through the time frame (1985-2016) .

A significant correlation has evolved between heritage brand awareness and place satisfaction and intention to stay in the area and attitude towards various forms of image building interventions. The chapter starts by illustrating both qualitative and quantitative survey findings and delves into correlations analysis using Statistical Package for the Social Science (SPSS).

6.2 Survey Questions and Rating Scales

Table 6-1 *Items used to measure Historic Cairo image and identity*

Dimensions	Qualitative item used to measure the dimension (Focus Groups)	Quantitative item used to measure the dimension (Questionnaire)
Architecture and Urban Environment	How the project did affected architecture and environment in your area?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The majority of the development projects focused on architectural heritage • The area witnessed noticeable improvements • There is a general improvement in the area • The development projects contributed in making the place a better place to live • Historic Cairo improved if compared to twenty years ago • There is a need for more developments focusing on area residents
Services	How did services changed?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attribute rating question 15
Education	What do you think about education and schools?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attributes rating question 15
Incomes and jobs	How did the project affected work in the area?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Urban conservation projects improved economic Conditions in Historic Cairo • Shop owners are the most beneficiaries from the development projects • Property prices increased following these projects
Recreation and events	How recreational spaces changed if compared to the past?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There are various events that takes place in the area • There are activities for the family offered by these projects
Residents self-perception	What do you think about the people?	Attributes rating question 15

Historic Heritage	What does area heritage mean to you?	The area heritage is an important asset that can contribute in its development
Tourism	How do you think tourism changed in the area?	The presence of foreigners is important to the area (Likert scaling)
Attributes rating	Participants of the survey questionnaire were asked to identify what they like and dislike about the area this is presented in question 11 and 12 in the questionnaire form	15- In your opinion what are the best place potentials? (you can pick more than one item) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Monuments • location • People • Food • Crafts • Markets • Services • Traditions • Others _____
Generic attributes of place identity and image	Semantic Differential scales in question 3 and 13	Holistic impressions of Historic Cairo
Awareness of the heritage brand	Displaying visual image of different actors brand (Question 16)	Likert Scaling <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I am familiar that the area is a world heritage site • I encountered developments in the area where I live • I encountered awareness campaigns about the area heritage
Satisfaction for living there	Likert scaling 5 points	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How satisfied are you living in Historic Cairo? • I have intensions to remain residing in the area (Likert scaling)
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In your opinion, what is it that you like in Historic Cairo • In your opinion, what is it that you do not like in Historic Cairo 	

Table 6-1 Survey questions and rating scales. Source: Author

6.3 Qualitative Data Findings

The four focus groups were conducted among twenty-three participants; each group had an average of six to eight participants selected so that they are representative of different age, gender and area of residence covering the three targeted districts: Al-Gamaleya, Al-Khalifa and Al-Darb Al-Ahmar. Each session lasted an hour and was voice recorded then transcribed in Arabic and translated to English. The researcher acted as the moderator. The questions were mainly covering the general image of Historic Cairo, and investigating the changes that occurred in the different elements of Historic Cairo image through the last thirty years. The questions that were asked in the focus groups interviews are shown in the Appendix. Data from all resident's groups went into several phases of analysis. A preliminary analysis was performed to attain a general view of the retrieved data. Next a more detailed analysis was performed; data was categorized into general themes to identify the changes in image attributes, the major impressions, attitudes, awareness and expectations of the area residents. The qualitative data analysis was performed using MAXQDA qualitative analysis software.

6.3.1 Perception of Historic Cairo

The main conclusions obtained from the focus groups sessions are summarized in the following points:

- 1- **Regarding the general impression of Historic Cairo**, the majority of respondents perceived Historic Cairo as a diverse area where various activities take place. They perceived the place as a unique place that differs from any other district in Cairo. A housewife living in the area for more than forty years stated: *"Historic Cairo has a special spirit, it is different than any other place, the people, the sounds that you hear in the street, the building facades"* participant 3-focus group. Another participant pointed out that it is the built heritage that signifies the area among and gives it its value :*"The first thing I would say, it is an area full of monuments; monuments are very noticeable here. This area is different than any other low income district because of the monuments. The mosques here are unique. The beauty of the area lies in this heritage and signifies it from than any other district in Cairo. When a visitor or a relative comes from outside the area they always comment on mosques, it tastes different."* participant 1 focus group 1.

From the participant's perspective, the image of Historic Cairo is related to a number of tangible and intangible aspects. The tangible aspects are associated with the external appearance, the built heritage, monuments, geographic location, traditional crafts, architecture, markets and tourism. As for the intangible aspects, they associated it with aspects such as work-home proximity, inherited crafts and social cohesion. Further, participants associated the place image with some negative aspects; the majority referred to the transformation of the area from a residential area to a commercial-industrial area, noise pollution, dirty streets, decaying infrastructure, traffic problems, low safety, low employment and high property prices.

- 2- **Regarding the holistic changes that occurred within Historic Cairo** within the last thirty years: it can be categorized into positive and negative changes. As to positive changes; the respondents were mainly concentrating on the improvement in the urban environment, mentioning that the streets have become cleaner than before and many residential buildings were restored. One of the main positive elements was the restoration and rehabilitation of monuments and notably these that were suffering from major decay. A high school student living in Al-Gamaleya stated that there was a decaying mosque next to her house used as a dump area and no one knew how beautiful the mosque is until it was restored. Another area of change was the various trainings that were offered to residents to encourage business regenerations. Housing Improvements and micro loans for housing was for them another advantage of the project. The majority of residents that were in direct intervention zones mentioned that the area became aesthetically more pleasing. Many of them held very negative perception of their living environment a college student mentioned "I thought I was living in a slum, I never knew that the area was valuable before the AKTC project was accomplished". However, they mentioned that most of these physical changes were only around the major regeneration projects and were not covering the entire old city. Another positive aspect from their viewpoint, was the initiatives taken in the conservation of traditional crafts and vocational training. As for perceived negative changes, gentrification in its traditional sense affected some neighbourhoods in the old city, mostly the areas where regeneration projects took place and specifically the heritage corridor, around Al-Mu'iz Street in Al-Gamaleya. This was

clear by the housing stock and the rise in property prices and move from rental tenure to ownership, the diversity of visitors and increase of business targeting high income people. The respondents mentioned that property prices have risen in the area and therefore the new generation cannot afford the rents in the regenerated districts. The old decaying buildings are replaced by new mixed used buildings with commercial or industrial activity in the lower floors and residential uses in the upper floors. This has caused a slow transformation of the street environment from a residential street to a commercial street which affected negatively their life. They also mentioned problems in transportation and waste management. They mentioned that because of the dense street activities, the bus services have stopped in the area since the year 2000 and replaced by small minibuses with lower quality and undefined stops. The most mentioned negative aspects were about dirty streets and poor waste management, traffic congestion, lack of parking area and low safety, the absence of sustainable job initiatives either from the public sector or the private sector.

- 3- **Regarding the residents attitude towards urban development projects;** the majority of respondents developed positive attitude towards the different approaches of interventions that occurred within Historic Cairo, to the majority of them it was a live changing event, to them the area has dramatically altered despite the challenges that it is still facing until the present date. The perceived benefits of the projects were mainly around environmental improvement, economic benefits , job creation, housing restoration heritage conservation and awareness. A participant in the focus group with residents of Al-Darb Al-Ahmar stated that this district was not on the map of Historic Cairo before the project of Agha Khan but was perceived by most of its residents as a slum area. Another participant pointed out the improvement in urban environment following the project in “Al-Mui’z street”: *“I did not use to go to “Al-Mui’z” for recreation, but my school was near, so I used to pass buy it every day. Now I like to go for leisure the street has become more beautiful, many monuments were unknown to us and were closed. We really see it a positive project, it is a good step from the government to give attention to these places. Every time a mosque or an old building is restored I feel relieved, and many people go to visit it from the area”* Participant 2 focus group 1. Participants also describes

how these projects opened channels for economic developments in the area , a carpenter from the workers focus group and who owns a workshop in the area stated that the projects introduced them to the Egyptian Elites who are now their main clients: *“However I thank God that there were national and international Organizations like the Agha Khan that start to concentrate more on the national market .These Organizations played a role in communicating between us and between "The rich Customer" this high class Egyptian customer who did not know about us before. Now there are many customers from the Egyptian high society who are appreciating our products .They are now more aware of certain traditional crafts like "Tent making" and Neo Islamic Furniture.”* Participant 4 focus group 2. However it is important to mention that there were some criticism regarding the technical procedures in housing restoration, the non-continuity of many initiatives due to low funds.

- 4- **Regarding heritage appreciation :** It can be stated that this was one of the most influenced element by the interventions and specifically for the new generations , the participants expressed profoundly how these various forms of interventions improved their awareness of their heritage and appreciation of their place. Moreover, the representation of Historic Cairo in literature, TV programs , series and movies has played an important role in a better perception of the place architectural, aesthetic and historical value and improved the residents sense of pride. “now we see about our district in television programs and movies , lately there was a TV series about “*Haret Al-Yahud*” (The Jews street) - about the old Jewish quarter in Historic Cairo-, ”*Napoleon and al Mahrussa*” (Napoleon and Egypt) also was shooted in the house of Al-Sehemy in Al-Gamaleya ,we now see many celebrities coming to perform or attend events. we now feel that the place is valued.
- 5- **Regarding satisfaction and place attachment:** participants answers varied according to the age group, the younger generations showed a greater tendency to leave while the older generations showed greater attachment to the place. A housewife living in Historic Cairo for more than 45 years stated: *“I am from Gamaleya, I was born and raised there, when I got married I moved to Al –Khalifa, almost twenty years ago, But I always go to*

Al-Hussein with my daughters to pray there. When I go there I smell this smell of spices, I buy my spices from there and I take my daughters with me, they are also really attached to the area. There is something between me and this area; I am strongly attached to it."

However, the younger generations tied their stay in the area with the job availability and mentioned that the main factors that cause them to leave are the high property prices, the lack of jobs opportunities and the low safety in specific zones, notably the neighbourhoods that were not subject to urban development and that are suffering from decaying environment. However, the urban interventions played an important role in increasing the place attachment and restoring faith in the area and specifically for the young generation a young participant explained: *"I see the project of Al Azhar Park as a project that restored our faith in change. We never imagined that anything will change. When we started to see the project evolving we become more attached to the place."* The attachment to Historic Cairo as a place to live varied between respondents; two groups of respondents were highly attached to the area, the old generation and craftsmen. While youth and younger generation showed more tendency to leave. They stated that it would be better to look for another place that offers satisfactory employment opportunities. Although they perceive the area as special regarding social values and traditions, the low employment factor remains an obstacle for them to continue living in the area. Moreover, they perceived Historic Cairo as lagging behind the rest of Cairo in innovation and modernization. *"The area only offers limited job opportunities, the economy was severely hit by the political instability and tourism decline, we can no longer depend on tourism for living"* Participant3-Focus Group2. Yet, the interventions had some positive effects on the way youth perceive the place, their awareness towards the area heritage has improved the way they perceive the area, a young respondent from al-Darb Al-Ahmar stated: *"I see the project of Al Azhar Park as a project that restored our faith in change. We lived here for decades and we never imagined that anything will change. When we started to see the project evolving we become more attached to the place and we grow trust towards the Agha Khan Foundation"* Participant2-Focus Group3.

- 6- **Regarding the expectations:** participants stressed about the need for more initiatives that targets heritage awareness. They also pointed out the need to provide more activities kids

and youth to develop more attachment to the place. The respondents stressed that there should be more efforts to safeguard the built heritage to cover all districts of the historic city, they indicated that there should be more regulations regarding new buildings and empty plots to achieve a continuity between old and new buildings. they mentioned that one of the major challenges in the historic city is the high density and the heavy traffic that causes major noise pollution.

6.3.2 Investigating Perceived Image Elements

A) Architectural and Urban Environment

The respondents showed enthusiasm towards the urban and architectural conservation projects that took place in the area, stating that the area witnessed positive changes since the implementation of these projects. These positive changes were in housing and facades restoration, monuments conservation, street paving and the creation of recreational area, public square and car free zones. A special positive change was given to the AKTC project in Al-Darb Al Ahmar. *“Before the project of AL-Azhar Park, this area was surrounded by a dump mountain, it was even called the mountain, and we were afraid to walk there after sunset, it was dark and unsafe.” Participant 2 Focus Group 4.*



FIG 6-2 Facades restorations in Al-Gamaleya along the heritage corridor "Al-Mui'z Street". Source:(NOUH,2008).

The project of the heritage corridor in Al-Gamaleya was also perceived as new recreational area for residents : “what was done was really beautiful, when they restored the old street, there are now many places to sit and have something to eat, many cafes and restaurants, we go there with our families more than tourists. Tourists only come on seasonal basis but we always go there. It has become a nice recreation for us , it is nice to go there for a walk.”However participants highlighted the need for a development plan that covers the whole area and not only selected zones, the respondents pointed out some negative aspects such high density and the loss of harmony between new and old buildings. They added that some streets has become less walkable and less safe for children to play in due to the widespread of small vehicles and street vendors.“After the revolution there is a chaotic situation in the area, and no laws are respected, the street has become less safe than before and many people use the street to store old cars. Everywhere, the cars get inside the "harras", into narrow street and park in front of the houses which made movement difficult for us.” Participant 2 focus group 4.

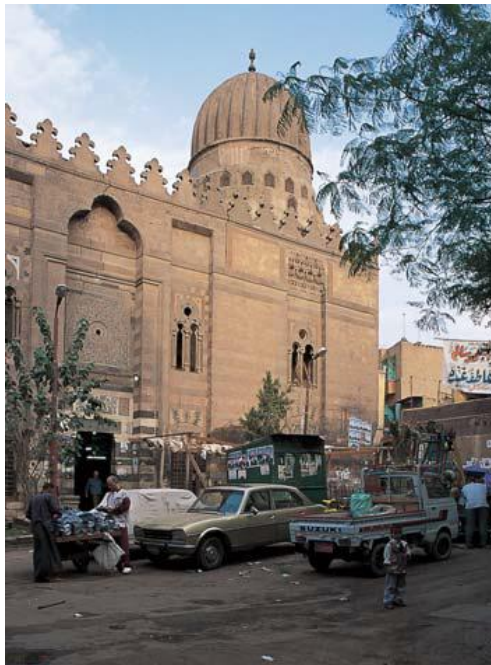


Fig 6-3 Aslam square before development
(AKTC,2005b)



Fig 6-4 and 6-5 A recent view of Aslam square .Source:(author)



Fig 6-6 Historic image showing Umm Sultan Shabban minaret before it collapsed
Source: French photographer
H.Bachard,1884

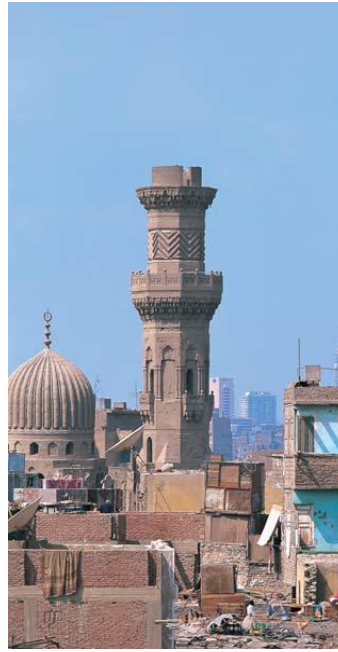


Fig 6-7 and 6-8 Showing the collapsed and restored minaret by the AKTC program (AKTC,2005b)

B) Services and Infrastructure

Service and infrastructure is perceived as the less appealing image attribute of Historic Cairo, the majority of respondents described the traffic as one of the major problems facing the area and that this problem has seriously increased during the last thirty years with the transformation of the area into a commercial center. Another major point is waste; most of them mentioned that this problem remains unsolved since years until present. Other problems were mentioned by residents such as low connectivity with the rest of the city, poor accessibility, noise pollution especially among major commercial streets and utility price rises following the 2011 revolution.

C) Social Changes

The social aspect of the heritage site is considered one of the most important attributes of the site. Therefore, it is important to give a special focus in monitoring the changes in this specific attribute .In the last chapter ,I presented the change that occurred in the social fabric based on secondary data and statistical data. In this part, I investigate how the residents perceive these changes. Within the focus group sessions residents identified several social problems within the historic site such as: the transformation of Historic Cairo from a residential area to a

Commercial-Industrial area, the residential migration and the loss of population, low safety, unemployment and Immigration from other middle eastern countries especially in Al-Mosky neighborhood.

When asked about the effect of interventions on social problems the responses varied between positive and negative effects: The positive effects were the transformation of some crime zones into a safer environment and specifically the area of “Al-Batneya” that was a drug neighborhood. and the creation of employment opportunities through vocational training and this was specifically in the AKTC project. As for the negative effects, the rise in property prices, the lack of activities targeting youth, and internal migration from other parts of Cairo. This last point constitute is perceived by many residents as a threat on the existing social bonds between neighbors , stating that new residents come from different backgrounds and are ignorant of the core social values of historic Cairo.

E) Cultural Activities

Participants showed positive changes concerning cultural activity with regards to its availability and diversity, mentioning that there are various old monuments and houses that were restored and used as cultural centers. They mentioned that these centers provide a variety of cultural offerings in the area such as “events, museums, theatres”. Nonetheless, a number of participants described these events that it is only made for foreigners or elite Cairenes.



Fig 6-9and 6-10 Before and after photoes of restoration of eastern city wall and adjacent buildings,this building now serves as a community center "Mezzalah organization".Source (AKTC,2011b)

They also described that there are some known annual cultural activities in the area like “AL-Mawled”¹ than is to them a highly regarded event, however they asked for better security and management during the event due to its chaotic nature and the high numbers of individuals attending the event.

F) Tourism

Historic Cairo was perceived since ages as a major destination for cultural tourism. The activities that took place within the area were highly related to tourism. A workshop owner in Al-Gamaleya stated that they use to prepare for tourism season from November each year, however the political turbulence in the Middle East had very negative impact on tourism and caused the unemployment of a large number of workforce involved in tourism activities. Moreover, a bazaar owner in Khan al Khalili, stated that even the nature of tourism changed from high quality cultural tourism to low quality tourism *“The kind of tourist that we see now are uneducated tourists ,they do not appreciate the culture of the place and have low spending power, we honestly do not want them.”* Participant 2-focus group². Another carpenter mentioned that the economic gain did not come directly from the tourists but from the tourism business, he mentioned that he used to work with prestigious constructing companies involved in hotels construction all over Egypt.

¹ Al-Mawled is a special event celebrated for the birth of Prophet Muhammad and his descendants. It is celebrated in a carnival manner in specific mosque in Historic Cairo since ages accompanied with large street processions ,storey telling and poetry recitation about the life of the prophet and his descendants ,food distributions.

G) Housing and Utilities

The Housing stock in Historic Cairo and in Egypt in general is dominated by four tenures types: Old law rental, new law rental², ownership and furnished rents. The main purpose of the old housing law was to allow the government to control property prices and therefore enable the low income families to afford housing rentals. However the deficiencies of this old building law drove many landlords to seek replacement of old houses with new ones. This created an opposite effect; the new properties within the historic city are of high cost in relation to residents incomes. Away of the intervention zones, there is a continuing deterioration of the Historic city fabric.

The situation escalated following the 2011 revolution, with the absence of legislation and building surveillance, a considerable number of landlords replaced old listed buildings with new informal buildings. Many areas in Historic Cairo are now changing in absence of law and policies leading to major problems such as infrastructure pressure, low quality buildings and overcrowding. The cost of old houses restoration is considered really high when compared to new houses which makes it difficult for residents to contribute financially to the process. The only Intervention that contribute in better housing and was highly appreciated by residents was the AKTC project in al-Darb Al Ahmar. However, the project covers a limited area in Aslam neighborhood, Al Batneya and Bab Al-wazir.



Fig 6-11,6-12 from the left.

Restored houses by AKTC project and new informal housing in the area exceeding heights regulations .
(AKTC,2005b;Author)

² A new rent law was legislated within law number 4 in 1996 has decontrolled rents and allowed landlords to set prices for new properties after 1996.

With regards to the housing challenges, participants explained that property prices in the area has witnessed severe increase in parallel with a serious overcrowding .They describe that it has become difficult for newly married or new formed families to find affordable housing within the area. With regards to utilities, residents demonstrated that there were major improvements in infrastructure in the area and mainly sewage and water supply that formed a major problem in the eighties and early nineties.60% of Historic Cairo Infrastructure has been improved and there are still ongoing plans for the sewage network (Prof. Abbas El Zaffarany, NOUH)

H) Incomes and Unemployment

A high number of respondents complained about the low family incomes and showed more concerns to job opportunities and affordable housing than heritage conservation and building restoration. A housewife stated during focus group interviews "If I stay in a deteriorated house but I know it is mine , is better than staying in a new house that isn't mine."Unemployment was perceived by many residents as one of the major challenges facing the Historic town and specifically after the tourism rates in the area has dropped during the last five years as an effect of the political turbulence. Many families in the area were involved in tourism related activities .Shop owners and craft makers were among the highly impacted groups.

I) Education

Residents perceived education in the area as inadequate and perceived this poor education as a main reason behind unemployment .Participants stated that education does not offer anything that is useful for the new generation and stressed for the need to provide more vocational training centers and technical education schools. They also stressed about the need for innovative strategies for traditional crafts .Stating that they face a major problem in marketing their products because they are unaware of the means of marketing.

J) Lines of Actions

The main lines of actions pointed out by residents were to take steps concerning the improvement of transit system through better connecting Historic Cairo to the city center, to improve city cleaning and control noise, to improve walkability and pedestrian walkways ,

improve safety, housing provision , job creation and the provision of activities for youth and children.

L) Perceived Heritage Values

Another important question in the focus group discussions tackled the perceived values of Historic Cairo and how these values changes with time. The participants identified a wide variety of heritage values that can be categorized into Historic, cultural, architectural, spiritual, social and economic values. To them there are values that are bound to the past and others represent present-day values. Past values were bound to historic values mentioning major events that occurred in the area and that is mainly bound to specific locations and monuments such as “The citadel, Al-Sultan Hassan Mosque, Al Hakim-Mosque”. Also participants pointed out the architectural and urban value of the area and the beauty of the traditional architecture .They described how residential streets were for them a gathering space. However, most of them developed disfavor towards the new constructions in the area that are not harmonious to the traditional architecture and that are impacting the street density and utilities.

Other participants pointed out the spiritual values and how various mosques within the area have significant religious values to the area residents. The residents also signified themselves among other inhabitants in Cairo with the strong social bonds; a housewife among the participants stated: “There is something good about it, the social bonds here are very strong, we are like brother and sisters. We live here our husbands work here, when we think about getting married we marry from other families in the area”. The participants pointed out cultural values such as special events like “Al-Mawled” and the holy month of “Ramadan” that are specially celebrated in the area. To them the area hold a high economic value with the presence of tourism, traditional crafts, thematic markets and different trades.

6.4 Quantitative Data Findings

6.4.1 Respondents Characteristics

Background characteristics of respondents

Background characteristics	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Gender			
Male	259	51.7	51.7
Female	242	48.3	100
Place of residence			
Al-Gamaleya	190	37.92	37.92
Al-Khalifa	70	13.97	51.9
Al- Darb Al-Ahmar	241	48.1	100
Age			
18-25	19	3.79	3.79
26-35	99	19.76	23.55
36-45	111	22.16	45.71
46-55	153	30.54	76.25
56+	119	23.75	100
Marital Status			
Single	55	10.98	10.98
Married without children	30	5.99	16.97
Married with children	341	68.06	85.03
Widowed	62	12.38	97.41
Divorced	12	2.4	100
Work status			
Employed	227	45.31	45.31
Not working	34	6.79	52.1
Pensioner	50	9.98	62.08
Housewife	187	37.33	100

Table 6-2 Background characteristics of respondents, source: author

Table 6-2 presents a detailed profile of individuals who were interviewed in the survey. It provides information on a number of basic characteristics of the respondents including age, residence, work status, and marital status. Among the survey respondents, 52% were male and 48% were females. Considering place of residence, 38% of the interviewed were from the Gamaleya district, 14% were from Al-Khalifa and the largest percentage, 48%, comes from the Darb El Ahmar. Looking at the age distribution among the sample, around 4% of the respondents

were under age 25, about two-fifths of the respondents were between 26-45, 30% of the respondents aged between 46-55 and about one-fifth were 56 and over. The table presents the distribution of the respondents by marital status. Around 11% of the respondents were single at the time of the survey, the majority, 73%, of the respondents were married. The table shows that around 12% were widowed and 2% were divorced. Considering the work status, 45% of the respondents were working at the time of the survey. The majority, 55%, of the respondents were not working either not working or pensioner or housewife.

6.4.2 Residents Satisfaction with Historic Cairo

Table 2 presents the differentials in satisfaction with the place of living by district. Regardless of the district of living, the results from the survey suggest that the majority of respondents are satisfied and have positive feelings toward their place of living. Only 5% of the respondents are unsatisfied with their place of living. Residents from El Khalifa are the most satisfied with their neighborhood.

Table 6-3 : Satisfaction with the place of living, source: Author

District	very satisfied	satisfied	neutral	unsatisfied	Unsatisfied at all	Total
Al-Gamaliya	104	65	9	9	3	190
	54.74	34.21	4.74	4.74	1.58	100
Al-Khalifa	55	13	1	1	0	70
	78.57	18.57	1.43	1.43	0	100
Al-Darb Al Ahmar	163	49	16	10	2	240
	67.92	20.42	6.67	4.17	0.83	100
Total	322	127	26	20	5	500
	64.4	25.4	5.2	4	1	100

The survey asked the respondents a number of questions about their assessment on living on historic Cairo. Table 3 presents several indicators that are useful for assessing whether historic Cairo residents are satisfied with their neighborhood revealing strengths and weaknesses of historic Cairo. They include the percentage of residents who found historic Cairo friendly, clean, safe, amusing place, well-maintained, relaxing, calm, romantic, vibrant, new and healthy neighborhood. The table indicates that are residents are generally satisfied with historic Cairo. The majority of respondents consider historic Cairo friendly, safe, entraining, lively, and healthy

place. On the contrary, the majority of respondents found historic Cairo not well-maintained, unrelaxing, and loud place. Also, the great majority of respondents understand that it's an old place.

Table 6-4: How Do you assess historic Cairo? source: Author

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Friendly			
Very	243	48.5	48.5
Ok	180	35.93	84.43
Neutral	42	8.38	92.81
Unfriendly	24	4.79	97.6
Very unfriendly	11	2.2	99.8
Clean			
Very	100	19.96	19.96
Ok	194	38.72	58.68
Neutral	91	18.16	76.85
Unclean	73	14.57	91.42
Very unclean	43	8.58	100
Safe Place			
Very	287	57.4	57.4
Ok	168	33.6	91
Neutral	29	5.8	96.8
unsafe	7	1.4	98.2
Very unsafe	9	1.8	100
Entraining			
Very	182	36.33	36.33
Ok	170	33.93	70.26
Neutral	83	16.57	86.83
Boring	32	6.39	93.21
Very boring	32	6.39	99.6
Maintained			
Very	16	3.19	3.19
Ok	168	33.53	36.73
Neutral	154	30.74	67.47
unmaintained	102	20.36	87.82
very unmaintained	60	11.98	99.8
Relaxing			
Very	18	3.59	3.59
Ok	142	28.34	31.94
Neutral	115	22.95	54.89
Unrelaxing	122	24.35	79.24
Very unrelaxing	99	19.76	99
Romantic			

Very	23	4.59	4.59
Ok	77	15.37	19.96
Neutral	131	26.15	46.11
Unromantic	78	15.57	61.68
Very unromantic	190	37.92	99.6
Active			
Very	216	43.11	43.11
Ok	181	36.13	79.24
Neutral	34	6.79	86.03
Inactive	29	5.79	91.82
Very inactive	40	7.98	99.8
Clam			
Very	61	12.18	12.18
Ok	137	27.35	39.52
Neutral	92	18.36	57.88
Loud	80	15.97	73.85
Very loud	131	26.15	100
New			
Very	10	2	2
Ok	56	11.18	13.17
Neutral	98	19.56	32.73
Old	55	10.98	43.71
Very old	280	55.89	99.6
Healthy			
Very	74	14.77	14.77
Ok	246	49.1	63.87
Neutral	107	21.36	85.23
Unhealthy	34	6.79	92.02
Very unhealthy	38	7.58	99.6

6.4.3 Area Potentials

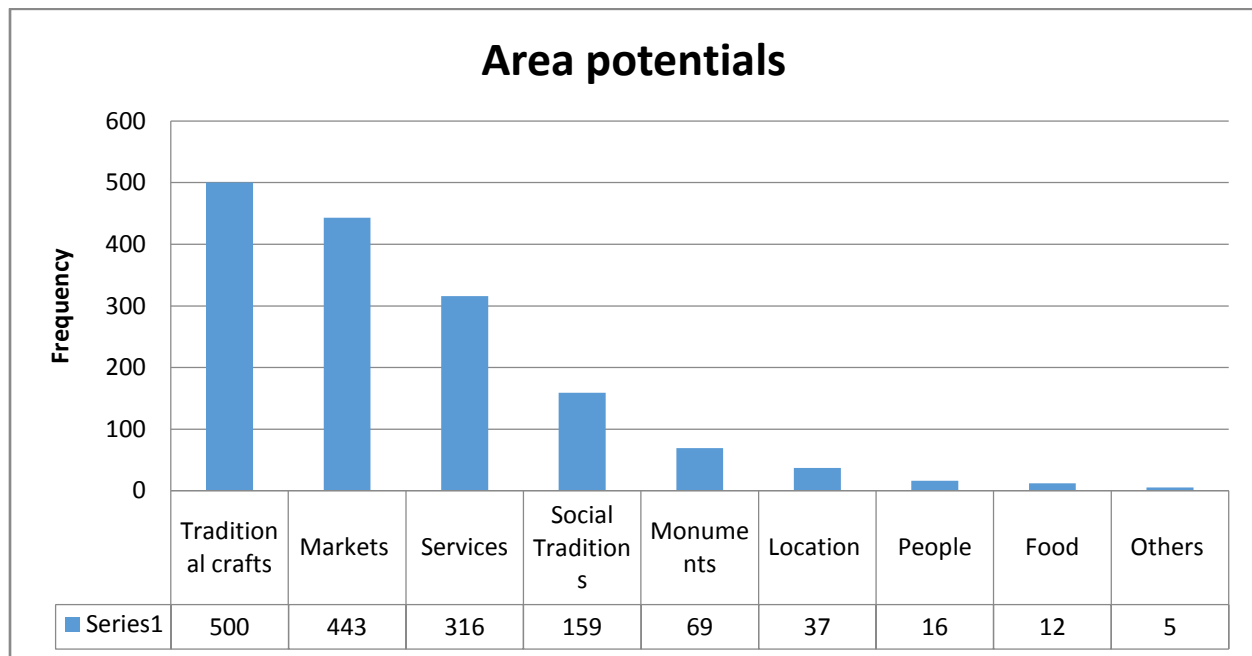


Figure 6-13 Area potentials from Residents perspective, source: Author

Residents described traditional crafts and markets as the highest area potentials, to them it is linked to economic gain and job creation

6.4.4 Residents Awareness of Heritage Conservation Projects

An important topic explored in the survey was the awareness of the development projects that took place in historic Cairo and its implications on the residents. To obtain this information, the respondents were asked whether they strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree and strongly disagree with each of the following points: awareness of living in a world heritage site, awareness of development projects that took place, the importance of tourists for the neighborhood, whether development projects have improved the site, its benefit the districts economically and who benefit the most, and whether they prefer to continue living in their current residence. The table below shows the percentage of respondents who are aware they are living in a world heritage site. 86% were aware they live in a world heritage site while 70% of respondents were aware of the development projects that implemented in the districts.

The majority (97%) of respondents acknowledge the importance of tourists to historic Cairo. Looking at the impact of the development projects on the selected areas, respondents suggested that the district is better after the projects. Consistently, the respondents suggested they would love to continue living in their current residence. The majority agreed that the heritage sites help in attaining the development projects. 60% of respondents agreed that the projects have economically benefited the districts and shop owners are the largest gainers from the projects. Two-thirds of respondents believed that the residential and land prices have surged because of the development projects. There is a notable variation with regard to whether the respondent himself has personally benefited from the project. About two-fifths pointed out they have benefited directly from the projects. The majority of respondents saw that the development projects have developed leisure and recreation areas.

The majority (80%) of respondents agreed (Strongly agree and agree) that the projects focused on the conservation of architectural heritage and expressed the need for further interventions that targets social and economic upgrade.

Table 6-5 Heritage and attitudes towards interventions

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1-I am aware I am living in heritage site			
Strongly agree	323	64.47	64.67
Agree	111	22.16	86.83
Neutral	31	6.19	93.01
Disagree	34	6.79	99.8
Strongly disagree	1	0.2	100
2-I am aware of projects took place in my district			
Strongly agree	192	38.32	38.32
Agree	157	31.34	69.66
Neutral	74	14.77	84.43
Disagree	64	12.77	97.21
Strongly disagree	14	2.79	100
5-Tourists are important for the district			
Strongly agree	436	87.03	87.03
Agree	53	10.58	97.6
Neutral	8	1.6	99.2
Disagree	3	0.6	99.8
Strongly disagree	1	0.2	100
6-The district is better after the development project			
Strongly agree	133	26.55	26.55
Agree	201	40.12	66.67

Neutral	107	21.36	88.02
Disagree	55	10.98	99
Strongly disagree	4	0.8	99.8
7-Would Love to continue living in the district			
Strongly agree	347	69.26	69.26
Agree	98	19.56	88.82
Neutral	32	6.39	95.21
Disagree	18	3.59	98.8
Strongly disagree	5	1	99.8
8-Heritage sites helped in attaining development projects			
Strongly agree	294	58.68	58.68
Agree	161	32.14	90.82
Neutral	41	8.18	99
Disagree	4	0.8	99.8
Strongly disagree	1	0.2	100
9-The projects has economically benefit the district			
Strongly agree	163	32.53	32.53
Agree	148	29.54	62.08
Neutral	142	28.34	90.42
Disagree	44	8.78	99.2
Strongly disagree	3	0.6	99.8
10-Shop owners are the major gainers from the project			
Strongly agree	167	33.33	33.33
Agree	169	33.73	67.07
Neutral	93	18.56	85.63
Disagree	56	11.18	96.81
Strongly disagree	16	3.19	100
11-Residential and land prices increased because of the project			
Strongly agree	208	41.52	41.72
Agree	122	24.35	66.07
Neutral	43	8.58	74.65
Disagree	90	17.96	92.61
Strongly disagree	37	7.39	100
13-The projects focused on Architectural heritage			
Strongly agree	225	44.91	44.91
Agree	180	35.93	80.84
Neutral	59	11.78	92.61
Disagree	33	6.59	99.2
Strongly disagree	4	0.8	100
16-I personally benefit from the projects			
Strongly agree	64	12.77	12.77
Agree	77	15.37	28.14
Neutral	83	16.57	44.71

Disagree	151	30.14	74.85
Strongly disagree	122	24.35	99.2
19-The projects develop leisure areas and recreation activities			
Strongly agree	275	54.89	54.89
Agree	148	29.54	84.43
Neutral	51	10.18	94.61
Disagree	17	3.39	98
Strongly disagree	10	2	100
20-Living is better after the projects			
Strongly agree	135	26.95	26.95
Agree	160	31.94	58.88
Neutral	157	31.34	90.22
Disagree	39	7.78	98
Strongly disagree	10	2	100

6.4.5 Media Generated Image

In question 16 respondents were asked to indicate whether or not they are familiar of major actor's logos; five logos were presented in the questionnaire covering the different intervention zones as shown in the questionnaire form (See Appendix).

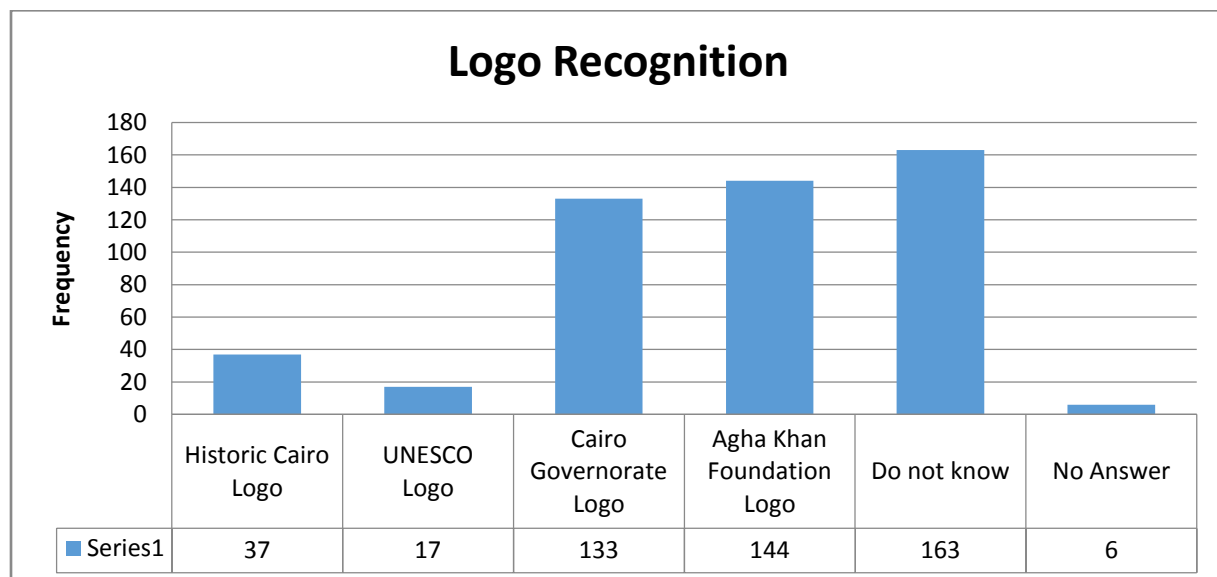


Fig 6-14 Logo recognition by area residents, source: Author

The AKTC logo and Cairo Governorate Logo were the most recognized logos , almost one third of the respondents did not recognize any of the logos and the UNESCO logo was the less recognized.

6.4.6 Place Identity and Image Attributes

This part identifies and measures generic attributes of Historic Cairo Image. This part relied on the questionnaire tool developed by Baxter and Kerr to measure place image and place identity. The selected dimensions are measured using a five point semantic differential scale used by (Baxter and Kerr, 2010). As the dimensions of place identity and place image are the same but perceived differently, two questions were asked in the questionnaire to measure both. The questionnaire form was structured in a way to ensure that there is gap between both questions using other questions in between. Question number 3 represents the identity question while question number 13 represents the image question. Table 6-6 presents the results of question 3 and question 13 consecutively. The Highest median scores indicated that the residents perceive the place as a friendly, old ,hardworking ,educated and safe place .While the lowest scores shows that residents perceive the place as uncaring, unromantic and noisy (Appendix).

Table 6-6 Median score for identity and image attributes

Image attribute	Place identity Question-3	Place image Question 13	
Friendly	1.76	2.04	Unfriendly
Clean	2.5	2.7	Dirty
Safe	1.5	1.8	Unsafe
Exciting	2.12	2.13	Boring
Caring	3	3.11	Uncaring
Relaxed	3.29	3.27	Stressful
Romantic	3.67	3.52	Unromantic
Hard Working	1.99	2.04	Lazy
Quiet	3.17	3.28	Noisy
New	4	4	Old
Healthy	2.4	2.6	Unhealthy
Educated	2	2.2	Uneducated
Thriving	2.4	2.4	Declining
Sophisticated	2.7	2.7	Unsophisticated

The results show that residents of Historic Cairo hold positive attitudes towards various dimensions of their place identity and also their perceived place image. The second step is to identify the gap between the perceived place identity and image using a semantic differential chart Fig (6-4). The Gap Analysis shows a slight gap between the place identity and perceived image in some attributes such as education, health, safety and friendliness meaning that there is a need for better communication with the external audience to deliver a better place reputation. Further research on place reputation may confirm this finding.

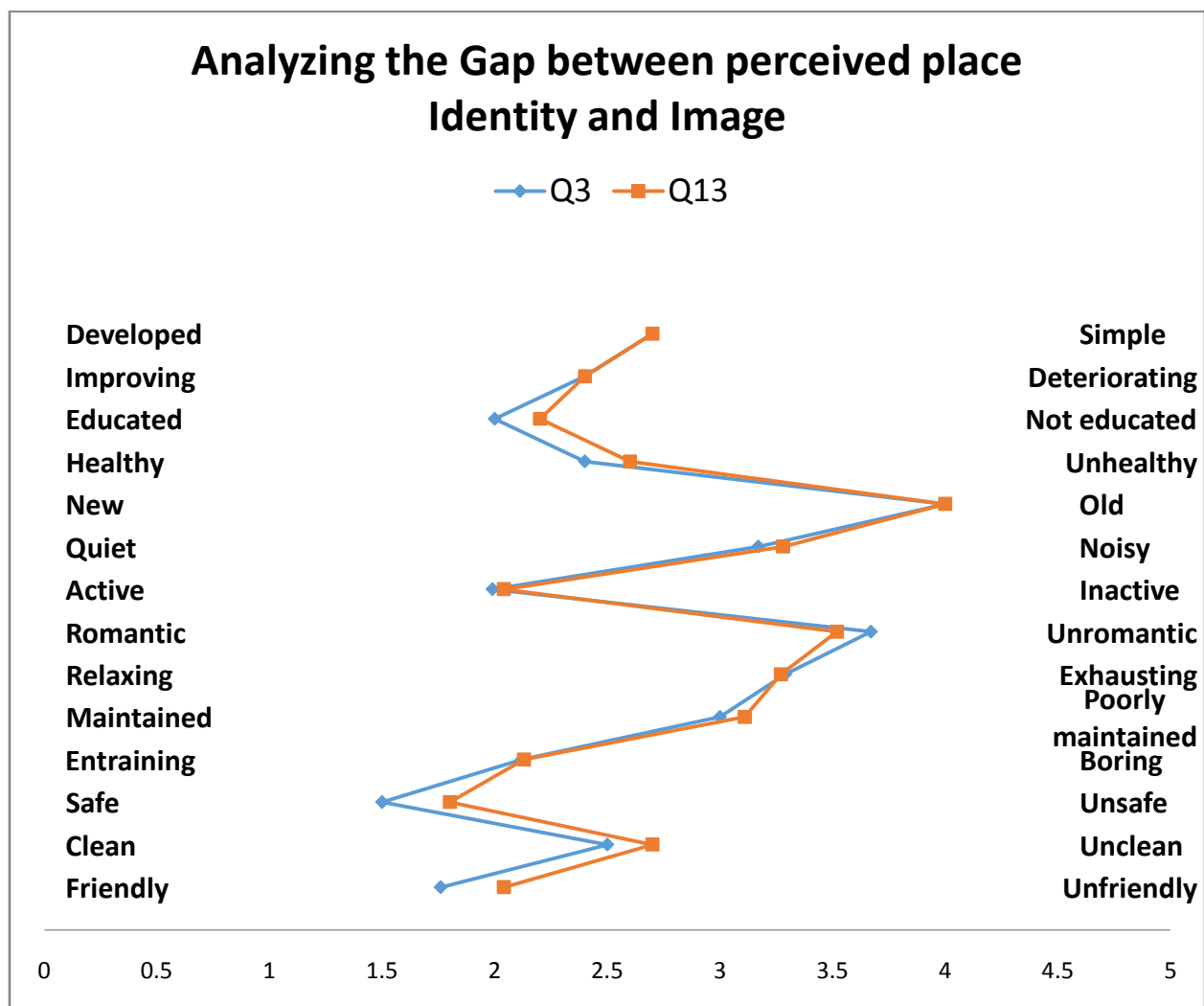


Fig 6-15 Gap between perceived place image and identity

6.4.7 Image Change and Heritage Awareness

Now we move from descriptive analysis to testing the relationship between residents' awareness of conversation projects and holistic image change using Spearman rho correlations tests. Alternative hypotheses were accepted if the yielded values by these tests were significant at confidence levels of above 95%. Respondents were asked if they were aware of the conversation projects that took place in the districts. We test the level of awareness on a number of outcomes. Our outcomes include whether respondents strongly agree or agree or neutral or disagree or strongly disagree that the district has become a better place after the conservation projects. Additionally, it includes whether respondents strongly agree or agree or neutral or disagree or strongly disagree that the districts overall have improved. Furthermore, we include whether respondents strongly agree or agree or neutral or disagree or strongly disagree that the districts have recreation and leisure areas because of the projects. Moreover, we include whether respondents strongly agree or agree or neutral or disagree or strongly disagree that the districts have economically benefited from the projects. Also, respondents were asked whether they strongly agree or agree or neutral or disagree or strongly disagree that they like to stay living in Historic Cairo. In addition, we contain a question on "How are you satisfied with living in Historic Cairo? Very Satisfied, Satisfied, Neutral, Unsatisfied, Very unsatisfied".

Table 6-7: Results of Spearman's tests of awareness of projects and districts' images

Perceptions of	n	Rho coefficient	Significance	Rho significance
Districts are better place after projects	501	0.45	0.0000	√
Overall, districts have improved	501	0.38	0.0000	√
Districts have recreation and leisure areas because of projects	501	0.27	0.0000	√
Districts have economically benefited from the projects	501	0.28	0.0000	√
Continue living in Historic Cairo	501	0.15	0.0000	√
How are you satisfied with living in Historic Cairo	500	0.17	0.0001	√

Table 6-7 provides the Spearman's tests results, where n is the number of observation and the symbol \sqrt indicates a significant association. The table presents the rho coefficients that ranges between +1 and -1. Irrespective of the sign, the higher the value of rho coefficient the higher degree of association between the two examined variables. The analysis yields that all the examined outcomes are statistically significantly associated with the awareness of the project. The rho coefficients are always positive ranging between 0.45 and 0.15 as well as they are significantly larger than zero. Strong and positive association means in this context that the highly aware respondents of conservation projects are more likely to report positive impact of the projects. This may indicate that the conservation projects might have contributed to image change of Historic Cairo. However, as previously discussed, Spearman's results are subject to confounding. In addition, another assumption has to be made is that respondents are truthful with their answers with regard to the awareness of the projects. They are not trying to impress the interviewer with their knowledge or give the answer the interviewer expects.

To limit the illustrated selection problem, the PSM technique is utilized. The PSM divides the sample into control and treatment groups based on whether they were aware of the conversation projects in Historic Cairo. Respondents in the sample are matched based on a number of factors, namely age group, sex, number of years living in Historic Cairo, Work status, born place, and the shyakha. Respondents with similar observable characteristics are matched and the difference between the treated respondent and the controlled is the difference in the knowledge of the conversation projects that took place in Historic Cairo. Table 6-8 provides the results from the PSM. The key difference between tables 6-7 and 6-8 is that table 6-8 accounts for difference in respondents' characteristics limiting the selection bias while table 6-7 does not. Therefore, after controlling for different individual characteristics, we can see whether or not the respondents who are aware of projects are more likely to have positive view of the district image.

Table 6-8: PSM results

Perceptions of	n	coefficient	Significance	Statistical significance
Districts are better place after projects	501	-0.86833	0.0000	\sqrt
Overall, districts have	501	-0.5623	0.0000	\sqrt

improved					
Districts have recreation and leisure areas because of projects	501	-0.37002	0.0000	√	
Districts have economically benefited from the projects	501	-0.4644	0.0000	√	
Continue living in Historic Cairo	501	-0.1463	0.160		
How are you satisfied with living in Historic Cairo	500	-0.116	0.324		

The coefficient column shows the average treatment effect (ATT), which indicates whether the perception of the knowledgeable respondents differ systemically than the rest of the sample. Apart from the two outcomes at the bottom of the table, the results of PSM did not differ from the Spearman's results. They both indicate that the implemented projects have contributed to district image change. The ATTs suggest that respondents who are aware of the projects are far less likely, measured by the negative ATT, to disagree that Historic Cairo are better place after the projects or any other outcome that reported in the first column of the table. Despite the two outcomes continue living in Historic Cairo and satisfaction level with living in Historic Cairo do have the expected sign as the rest of outcomes, they were not statistically significance as in Spearman's test, which reveal the selection effect have an effect in creating bias significant relationship.

6.5 Summary

Historic Cairo used the world heritage designation to improve its image through various place-making interventions. The main aim behind the designation was to stimulate urban development projects, attract tourists and encourage more investments. It was not before the late nineties that the government adopted more inclusive approaches and started to consider the importance of the residents as places ambassadors. The image effects of those interventions were analysed through a three-phase methodology using both qualitative and quantitative approach. The use of the mix method allowed the completion of the data and the representation of a comprehensive image of the Historic city. It helped in distinguishing the major area of changes that occurred in the

perceived Image of Historic Cairo through time prior the urban conservation interventions and post its implementations.

The quantitative data analysis was able to identify the holistic changes that occurred in the area perception and compare the place identity with the perceived image .The focus groups interview helped in developing a deep understanding of the changes that occurred in each of the image elements and understand the major causes behind these changes and the reasons behind the different attitudes towards various conservation projects. Moreover the analysis of secondary data enabled a deeper understanding of the different approaches that were implemented in Historic Cairo. Therefore, relating the effects of these approaches on attitude and civic pride was another interesting result.

The image of the Historic Cairo city is composed of a network of interrelated elements. These elements vary between what is tangible and what is less tangible like the activities that take place in the area and the feeling that the place evokes. This chapter identified different dimensions of the place image that encompasses appraisive and designative elements.

These interventions followed different approaches in conservations that evolved from architectural conservation focusing on monuments into more holistic rehabilitation and regeneration projects. In defiance of all the efforts, until the present day there is an absence of a uniform message about the future of Historic Cairo. The various stakeholders involved have different priorities and needs concerning the site. A better communication between different stakeholder groups needs to be established. The results shows that the attitude of residents towards the intervention has altered in parallel with the evolution of the conservation approaches into a more inclusive conservation that considers the socio-economic context of the monument.

Historic Cairo has attempted to acquire a positive image and change its decaying image to attract tourist and position itself as a major tourist destination. The Unfavorable image that was perceived by its local community gradually changed through the use of different tools to reverse this negative image, the techniques used were gradually developed over time ,the use of media events ,turning negative characteristics into positive ones, developing logo and promotional brochures and signage, cultivating residents social pride through various community activities and awareness campaign. Although the district of al Khalifa was the least to witness major

physical place making interventions , the residents showed the highest satisfaction among the three districts .Meaning that positive outcomes is not necessarily tied to the physical strategies in image formation and that other intangible dimensions play an important role in the formation of a strong place image.

The interventions started with restoration; this approach concentrated on restoring significant monuments and buildings ,mosques , hamams, madrassas and old houses neglecting the building fabrics between the monuments and perceiving it of lesser values. A further approach is renovation and this approach occurs when a decaying building in the historic fabric collapse, it is replaced by a new building, in the case of Cairo these new buildings do not relate to the traditional Islamic architecture .Moreover following the 25 January revolution, most of the demolished buildings and empty plots were occupied by new seven storey apartment buildings in violation to the building regulations. The last approach is rehabilitation which targets the rehabilitation of social and economic activities in historic Cairo, rehabilitation focuses more on districts or quarters and this approach was applied in Al-Darb Al-Ahmar district and Al-Darb Al-Asfar. This approach concentrates on the holistic urban tissue rather than targeting individual monuments. In this research we investigated the effect of these various forms on the perception of place image by its residents. Results showed that the adoption a more inclusive approach that takes in to account the local community had a very important contribution in the improvement of the place image and place brand awareness and the generation of better outcomes such as satisfaction and place attachment.

The research opens the question of how the future of historic Cairo should be ? should it only rely on its existing heritage or other dimensions should be incorporated to ensure its sustainability as a place to live, the current condition of the Historic City and notably following the 2011 revolution is chaotic, with the absence of legislative power , the city is suffering from various forms of violation that threatens heavily its core identity. True interventions that targets the upgrade of social and economic environment should be adopted to ensure the conservation of the old city. Within the last decade the Historic city districts has witnessed a re-increase in its population in a matter that influence the daily –life of its residents .How these challenges can be tackled , this should be considered in future research.

This survey result displayed that residents of Historic Cairo are highly aware of the different challenges facing their district. The results shows that residents of Historic Cairo has developed more awareness to the significance of their living environment .It showed that the various approaches of conservation has impacted the way Historic Cairo residents perceive their place and developed a positive attitude towards conservation interventions .

Residents of Historic Cairo are generally satisfied with their context; this satisfaction is related to their awareness of their heritage. However, the majority believe that there is still a need for more developments. The results confirm that people are looking forward to changing the current conditions of this heritage district and specifically the social and economic conditions. It also shows that heritage conservation and place imaging that is based on heritage foundation can cause significant positive changes in the way local community perceive their place of living and therefore develop positive attitude towards various patterns of place making .

CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION



Fig 7.1 View from Kadri Basha Street overlooking the spiral minaret of Ibn Tulun Mosque. Source: author

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7.1 Summary

Historic Cairo was the target of various development plans since its designation as a World Heritage Site. The early plans focused on different approaches of conservation, but did not look into the socio-economic dimension of the area. The area was segregated according to the built heritage values and the priority for actions was given merely to buildings. The plans were highly concerned with supporting the existing identity of the city core along major landmarks and along major corridors. However, the deteriorated zones considered of low property value, were not comprised into the developments. It was not until the year 2000 that a more integrative plan was adopted in the area of Al-Darb Al-Ahmar and worked as a model for further developments that are taking place until this date.

The thesis has the aim to explore the effect of urban branding initiatives that are based on heritage foundation on the perceived place image “the brand” through time. Historic Cairo was chosen as a case study to examine these effects. The analysis went through different image building strategies that were adopted in Historic Cairo between 1985-2016 and examined the perceptions of local community of their place image through a mixed method. The findings suggest that urban conservation project has contributed in the perception of a more positive image of the place by its residents and contributed in the assertion of the place identity. Residents of Historic Cairo showed positive attitude towards the initiatives that took place of the area and developed more awareness towards the significance of their heritage. Moreover, findings have shown that there are positive changes in terms of utilities, built environment and heritage conservation if compared with the 1985 status. However, this change in image is mainly detected within the main interventions zones, non action areas are still suffering from a decaying built environment, noise and waste pollution, infrastructure deficiencies and poor housing quality. Moreover, residents of Historic Cairo developed negative perceptions towards the policies adopted by the government to restrict access of residents to some major monumental mosques following their restoration.

Furthermore, the research has monitored the evolution of conservation approaches from mere building conservation into more inclusive approaches that consider the socio-economic dimensions and examined its effect on local residents. The findings are consistent with previous research that suggests that heritage play an important role as a place brand element (Govers and Go,2016; Allen,2007; Baker;2007; Ashworth;2009). It also suggests that place making initiatives that are based on heritage foundation and that includes socio-economic strategies can play an important role in delivering positive outcomes regarding the local community such as sense of pride, place attachment and positive attitudes towards interventions (Middleton, 2011).

Another theme that emerges from the analysis is the adoption of three approaches of conservation in the Historic city and these approaches evolved to comprise a more inclusive approach. The approach mainly relied on the utilization of the existing heritage with a focus on architectural and urban heritage to improve urban attractiveness. However, there are scattered zones within the site that suffer from an undeveloped urban environment and there are no clear plans on how to manage the needs of the local community within the heritage site to sustain its value as a living environment. The current status of the site is trapped between the need to preserve and the need to modernize. Action plans towards modernization should be taken into the historic site to answer those needs in a mean that preserves the urban fabric and responds to the needs of the local community. The local community showed great attachment to their living context, to them continuing living in a historic neighborhood is of highly importance. The image of Historic Cairo as perceived by its residents is highly impacted by the visual form of the city and with distinct heritage values and meanings that are related to the place.

The analysis has examined the relationship between the place identity and image as perceived by its residents. The participants showed that there is a significant closure between the perceived place identity and image. This implies the existence of a solid ground to build an authentic brand for Historic Cairo that delivers a true message of the place and its identity. Different identity attributes have been compared with image attributes to detect gaps between both. However, residents showed high

awareness of the values of their place and were able to identify brand elements that can work as a catalyst for their place development .These brand elements varied between tangible and intangible values. Elements such as home and work-proximity, inherited traditional crafts and social bonds ,spirituality and special events where highly valued by the local community and followed by more tangible elements such as built heritage, markets and tourism.

The analysis of the branding and marketing strategies of Historic Cairo as a powerful mean to project the place identity has shown that there is a clear goal which is to maintain the historic city as a major cultural destination for cultural tourism. Nevertheless, the means to attain this goal are unclear and scattered through the last three decades. Until this date, there is an absence of a comprehensive vision of how dimensions that are related to the local community and their social and economic well being can be tackled. Moreover, there is an absence of a body responsible for branding the historic city. Despite-that, there are various institutions involved in marketing the site, each one of these bodies has its own visual brand elements and communication tools. The result is the projection of a non-uniform message about the place. This draws special attention to the need of an “Umbrella Brand” that delivers a uniform message about the place.

To sum up, the research has covered a longitudinal review of identity and image elements of Historic Cairo. This has provided a wider picture of the changes that occurred in Historic Cairo through the last thirty years. First; it showed different dimensions of physical transformations within the historic city and exposed various approaches of heritage manipulation. Second; it examines the effects of these changes on the perceived image of the historic town. The role of heritage conservation as a powerful image building tool was confirmed with empirical evidence. The different patterns of change were highlighted using the survey tool that was developed to track the image of Historic Cairo.

7.2 The Research in the Context of the Place Marketing Research

There is a substantial amount of theoretical and empirical research covering place image measurements and place marketing and branding, but surprisingly, few attempts were concerned on defining clear image elements that focuses on heritage. Moreover, the present place brand evaluation models were not applied within the Middle Eastern context and focused more on the context of the developed world. Therefore, it was appropriate to build on the previous research by adding three dimensions to the existing literature. First; the evaluation of place branding practices within developing countries with a special focus on the Middle East. Specifically, with the major social, economic and political challenges that are facing this spot of the world. Second the focus on a specific element of the brand which is heritage and examining the effect of the “heritage-only” approach in branding through an empirical study. Third, to apply theoretical models used in previous researches through different phases by testing the place brand measurement model presented by Sebastian Zenker, and modifying the survey tool developed by Baxter and Kerr to adapt it with heritage context. It also supplemented the Spearman analysis to correlate the branding strategies with the findings (Zenker, 2009; Baxter and Kerr, 2011). This study has presented a detailed methodology that can contribute to a better design and management of such rich heritage site. The research showed that the catalyst of this process is mainly the participation of the local community in defining the image elements and expressing their diverse needs and aspirations. Through the focus groups, the research determined how participants rank issues, problems and opportunities in order of importance and urgency and this is how they determine the future course of their community

It has also presented a simple technique to investigate whether urban conservation projects contribute in city image change. The research added to A.Smith technique and developed a method that confronts the limitation of Smith research by using the PSM analysis. The research was applied to another context and demonstrated significant results between place brand awareness and perception of changes. The research has also complemented the Smith research by using qualitative methods (focus groups interviews) in conjunction with a quantitative method to ensure the validity of findings.

7.3 Research Limitation

The research has addressed only the effect of urban conservation on one group of stakeholder which are the residents and workers of the historic site. A comprehensive brand evaluation should further be developed to encompass the external users of the site and international tourists. However the thesis intended to inspect the internal brand as a start point for the brand evaluation.

Another limitation was the nature of the data that did not allow a cross-time quantitative comparison due to the difficult access of aggregated panel data that can be used in statistical analysis , and therefore the quasi-experiment technique was used to assess the image change from residents perspective without the need of longitudinal data.

7.4 Study Implications and Direction for Future Research

Following the summary of key issues addressed in the previous chapters, this section discusses the implications of the study. The study appears to support the argument for change in heritage management strategies within developing countries. These strategies are founded on the inclusion of residents in identifying the major potentials and constraints of their place. The study urges the incorporation of branding strategies that go beyond promotional activities to reach deep understanding of the needs and values of the local community. Projecting a place image that is based on its identity will eventually contribute in delivering positive outcomes and restore the local community faith in change .The study asserts the need for innovative approaches to be integrated in the heritage management plans to safeguard the interrelationship between the built environment and the social environment in Historic Cairo and conserve its character as a lived heritage site.

This research brought into focus the relationship between the conservation of built environment from one side and urban society and economy from the other side .It focused on ways to measure the perception of residents of their environment .The world has witnessed an increase in the demand of heritage consumption and in parallel the attention towards heritage cities increase to supply this consumption. All

these have led to changes in the nature of those cities, to be transformed into a tourist historic city.

The place branding idea started earlier in Western Europe and consequentially the place branding research focused on this specific context. It was justified that it is Europe that set the Agenda for the Globalization of heritage and that European cities are called the “Brand leaders”. Shortly, Central and Eastern Europe opened up to the branding idea, followed by North America, Australia, East Asia, South Africa and Latin America. This research adds to the existing research by inspecting the tourist-heritage city in the Middle Eastern context. Between the existing arguments about the creation and development of heritage from one side and a counterarguments that regards heritage as “an unwelcomed distortion of an assumed non authentic past”. (Ashworth,2011).

The research stands in an optimistic position to demonstrate that urban conservation can be relied on to meet the needs of the future city. At the present time, the historic city is witnessing decay in its urban fabric, this decline accelerated within the last decades due to the change in its social and economic fabric from one side and the growth of Metropolitan Cairo leading to its de-population. From late seventies until present, many campaigns called for actions plans to safeguard Historic Cairo heritage. A portion of these actions were implemented but there is still a lot to be done. The historic City is now witnessing strong needs towards new housing, new infrastructure and new industries that can stimulate the economic situation.

The challenge lies between conserving the past with its values and moving forward to answer the needs of the future generations. The survey demonstrates that citizens of Historic Cairo are fully aware of the significance of their heritage and are concerned about the violations that are threatening their heritage .Yet, they expressed a crucial need for improvement of services , infrastructure, education and housing .They also stressed on the new generation and their need of income generating activities. Although the conservation interventions in Historic Cairo are valued by the local community ,the main gain from those interventions that goes beyond the physical conservation of buildings was the sense of pride it developed among the citizens. This satisfaction of belonging to the place is a strong bond which reinforce interconnections and increase commitment among community residents. It is a great

motivation to stay, invest and grow different activities, stimulate an entrepreneurial culture in these neighborhoods and consequently boost the local economy.

Thinking about the future of Historic Cairo generates two settings in mind: the first setting presents an image of a city that is obsessed with its past; or in-other-words, a city that is largely preserved with no intention of change and functioning as an open air museum through a sanitized urban fabric and restored monuments, while the second setting presents an image of a city with a future that considers the past and move forwards to answer the needs of its inhabitants. Until the present day there is an absence of a clear vision of how these future demands will be tackled, from one side the governmental bodies involved in the area are favoring the first setting, while other NGOs and public organizations are for the second one. The research has demonstrated that the image of the historic city, as perceived by its residents, combines between the two approaches; between a strong attachment to the past and expectations towards the future. So the need for reorienting the historic site management has become indispensable. Future policies within the area should formulate actions that answer the needs of the local community regarding, housing provision, infrastructure enhancement, economic revitalization and job creation.

Possible area of future research would combine other stakeholders through examining the perception of the external audiences and tourists. This would be useful if compared with the internal audience for checking the image and identity gap. Moreover, the methodology developed in this study might prove useful if applied in other cross-time or cross-place comparison to compare place images either through time or between places on a specific period of time. By contrasting the results of different surveys that took place in the area with the present survey, the long-term effect of the world heritage designation on the perceived place image can be assessed.

7.5 Closing Remarks

The past and the future are two central components of the modern city. In Historic Cairo the major concern is the association between, heritage, tourism and the living city. This combination has created a series of tensions between the diverse stakeholders involved. Different image building approaches in Historic Cairo should

be part of a sustainable urban development plan that does not only focus on the built heritage and the grandiose monuments; the significance of the site should be conserved covering all the aspects of urban fabric that are valued by the local community. These aspects includes structures, activities , values and meanings. Following this comprehensive approach in conservation ensures the projection of a place image that is based on its identity and improves the public attitudes towards various forms of place making.

Historic cities are a representative of cultural identity and cultural heritage. Preserving the physical, social and cultural structures of these cities in the context of the developing world has been facing many challenges until nowadays. Historic Cairo is a city with a strong urban and visual identity. This strong identity is generated from its complexity and the associations between the different physical elements such as mosques, open spaces, nodes and streets and the social and religious meanings and traditions. The image of the city is formed through collective heritage elements. Urban policies in Egypt needs to adopt more comprehensive approaches in heritage conservation and image building , better communication should be made to project the place image and deliver a clearer message to the residents. Moreover, more interventions should be developed towards solving main economic and social problems within the site such as job creation, housing, infrastructure and education that are also important elements of the city image.

Last but not least, issues related to community development, and consequently the city image must not be treated in isolation; coordination of action at different scales; building, site, neighborhood, city, region, state, national and global scales are interrelated. So this overwhelming task requires constant efforts to ensure a long-term sustainable environment but this is what makes the mission of architects and planners rewarding and meaningful.

8. APENDIX



Fig 8-1 Al Azhar Park ,view of the Citadel,Source:author

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8.3 Abbreviations

CAPMAS	Central agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics
MoC	Ministry of Culture
MoT	Ministry of Tourism
URHC	Urban Regeneration Project for Historic Cairo
AKTC	Aga Khan Trust of Culture
AKDN	Aga Khan Development Network
HCRP	Historic Cairo Restoration Project
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
SCA	Supreme Council of Antiquities
NOUH	National Organization for Urban Harmony
CULTNAT	Centre for Documentation of Cultural and Natural Heritage
OUV	Outstanding Universal Value
URHC	Urban Regeneration of Historic Cairo
WH	World Heritage
WHC	World Heritage Centre
WHS	World Heritage Site

8.4 Focus Group Questions

Residents and Students

1. How would you describe Historic Cairo?
2. How the place has changed through the last thirty years?
3. What do you think about the following?
 - Monuments
 - Housing
 - Transportations
 - Markets
 - Recreation
 - People
 - Education
 - Traditional Crafts
4. What do you know about the area heritage?
5. Did your school improved your awareness about Historic Cairo?
6. How do you see the services in the area?
7. How did the urban conservation project that happened in your area affected your life in it?
8. What are the type of projects do you wish to see in the future?
9. Do you know about famous people who were born here?
10. If a visitor comes for a tour in the area, where will you take him/her?
11. Do you wish to stay in Historic Cairo or move?

Workers and Business Owners

1. How would you describe Historic Cairo?
2. From your point of view, when was the best time you witnessed the historic city?
3. How the place has changed through the last thirty years?
4. What do you know about the area heritage?
5. Did your school improved your awareness about Historic Cairo?
6. As a craftsman, how did you learn the craft?
7. What are the problems that are facing the traditional crafts?
8. How do you market your products?
9. What do you think of tourism?
10. How did the urban conservation project that happened in your area affected your life?
11. What are the type of projects do you wish to see in the future?
12. Do you know about famous people who were born here?
13. If a visitor comes for a tour in the area, where will you take him/her?
14. Do you wish to stay in Historic Cairo or move?

8.5 Questionnaire Form

Questionnaire for measuring place brand from Internal Perspective School of Architecture and Urban Planning Technische Universität Darmstadt

Dear Sir/Madame,

We are undertaking a research subject within a PhD thesis at Technische Universität Darmstadt , Germany. The Main Target of this questionnaire is to explore the perceptions of residents towards Historic Cairo.

Your name is not recorded and no attempt will be made to match any answers with an individual's name.

Thanks for your support,

Amira el Hakeh

School of Urban Planning, TU Darmstadt

The purpose of this research is to collect information from persons who are residents or workers Historic Cairo and that are over 18 years.

District	
Date	
Address	

1. Are you over 18 years of age

(Please tick appropriate answer)

☐ Yes. Please proceed to Q2.

☐ No. There is no need to complete the questionnaire. Thank you for your interest.

2. Are you a resident of Historic Cairo?

(Please tick appropriate answer)

☐ Yes. Please proceed to the next page.

☐ No. What is your home town or city? _____

There is no need to complete the rest of the questionnaire.

Thank you for your interest.

3. How do you rate Historic Cairo regarding the following?
(Please place a tick in the box you consider the most appropriate)

	Very	Moderately	Neither one nor the other	Moderately	Very	
Unfriendly						Friendly
Dirty						Clean
Unsafe						Safe
Boring						Exciting
Uncaring						Caring
Stressful						Relaxed
Unromantic						Romantic
Lazy						Hardworking
Noisy						Quiet
Old						New
Unhealthy						Healthy
Uneducated						Educated
Declining						Thriving
Unsophisticated						Sophisticated

4. How long have you been a resident of Historic Cairo? (*Please tick appropriate answer*)

- ☐ less than 5 year
- ☐ 5 to 10 years
- ☐ 10 to 20 years
- ☐ 20 to 30 years
- ☐ More than 30 years

5. Which category best describes your employment situation? (*Please tick appropriate answer*)

- ☐ Employed ☐ Retired
- ☐ Unemployed ☐ Housewife

If employed what is your job? _____
Job location _____

6. What is your gender? (*Please tick*)

- ☐
- Male
- ☐
- Female

7. What is your age category? (*Please tick*)

- ☐ 18- 25 ☐ 46-55
☐ 26-35 ☐ 56+
☐ 36-45

8. Which of the following best describes you? (*Please tick correct response*)

- ☐ Single – no dependent children
- ☐ Single – dependent children

- ☐ Married/partnered – no dependent children
☐ Married/partnered – dependent children

9. Where were you born? (*Please tick appropriate answer*)

- ☐ El Darb el Ahmar
☐ El Gamaleya
☐ El Khalifa
☐ Other. please state where _____

10. How satisfied are you living in Historic Cairo? (*Please tick appropriate answer*)

<i>Very Dissatisfied</i>	<i>Moderately Dissatisfied</i>	<i>Neither Satisfied nor Dissatisfied</i>	<i>Moderately Satisfied</i>	<i>Very Satisfied</i>
--------------------------	--------------------------------	-------------------------------------------	-----------------------------	-----------------------

☐
☐
☐
☐
☐

11. What do you like most about your Historic Cairo?

12. What do you dislike most about Historic Cairo?

13. How do you think people **LIVING OUTSIDE** Historic Cairo will rate Historic Cairo with regard to the following?

(*Please place a tick in the box you consider the most appropriate*)

	Very	Moderately	Neither one nor the other	Moderately	Very	
Unfriendly						Friendly
Dirty						Clean
Unsafe						Safe
Boring						Exciting
Uncaring						Caring
Stressful						Relaxed
Unromantic						Romantic
Lazy						Hardworking
Noisy						Quiet
Old						New
Unhealthy						Healthy
uneducated						Educated
Declining						Thriving
Unsophisticated						Sophisticated

14-Please tell me to which extent you agree or disagree with these statements:

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
1.I am familiar that the area is a world heritage site					
2. I encountered developments in the area where I live.					
3.I encountered awareness campaigns about area heritage					
4.There is a considerable media attention in the area where in my district					
5.The presence of foreigners is important for the area					
6. The area witnessed noticeable improvements					
7. I have the intension to remain residing in the area					
8. The area heritage is an important asset that can contribute in its development					
9-Urban conservation projects improved economic conditions in Historic Cairo					
10-Shop owners are the most profitable from the development projects					
11-The property prices increased following these projects					
12-There is a general improvement in the area					
13-The majority of development projects focused on the architectural heritage					
14-I am with more developments in the area					
15-The development projects contributed in making the place a better place to live					
16-I personally benefited from these projects					
17-There are various events that takes place in the area					
18- There are activities for the family offered by these projects					

19- There are more places for leisure and recreation than before					
20- Historic Cairo improved if compared to twenty years ago					
21-There is a need for more developments focusing on area residents.					

15- In your opinion what are the best place potentials? (you can pick more than one item)

- | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <input type="radio"/> Monuments | <input type="radio"/> Crafts |
| <input type="radio"/> Location | <input type="radio"/> Markets |
| <input type="radio"/> People | <input type="radio"/> Services |
| <input type="radio"/> Food | <input type="radio"/> Traditions |

Others _____

16- Are you Familiar with these logos? (Make a tick below the familiar image)



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استبيان لقياس صورته و هويته المكان من وجهه نظر سكان القاهرة التاريخيه

الهدف من الاستبيان

تمتصمى الاستبيان التالي للحصول على معلومات حول العلاقة بين السكان وترائهم معرفه موقف سكان القاهرة التاريخيه من التغييرات الاجتماعية والاقتصادية التي حدثت داخل البيئة التي يعيشون فيها. الاستبيان يستهدف لعلو جه التحديد معرفه اهم عناصر المنطقه التي قد تساعد في جذب الاستثمارات و الارتقاء بالحاله الاقتصادية و الاجتماعيه. كما يهدف الي قياس ادراك السكان و اصحاب المحال التجاريه للاهميه التاريخيه للمكان الذي يعيشون فيه ومواقفهم تجاه التدخلات المختلفه التي حدثت في المنطقه بعد اراج القاهرة التاريخيه ضمن مواقع التراث العالمي من قبل اليونسكو.

تمتصمى الاستبيان الى 4 أقسام رئيسية؛

القسم الأول ليتناول ادراك السكان لتراث المنطقه و تحديد اهم عناصر المكان من وجهه نظرهم .
القسم الثاني يهدف لصد موقفهم من التغييرات الاجتماعية والاقتصادية والبيئية التي وقعت داخل المناطق المدروس.
القسم الثالث يرصد نوايا السكان تجاه المكان و تمسكهم بالبقاء فيه او مغادرته او المشاركة في الحفاظ علي التراث.

الفئه المستهدفه في هذا الاستبيان هم السكان الذين يعيشون في المنطقه منذ أكثر من 20 عام و هو يركز علنا المقيمين وأصحاب الأعمال من المحلات و الورش. سيتم اخذ العينات من الاحياء التي شهدت تدخلات (مشاريع حفاظ على التراث, مشاريع اعاده التاهيل و مشاريع تنميه حضريه) خلال الثلاثون عاما الماضيه. تتضمن هذه الاحياء "حي الدرب الاحمر ,حي الخليفه ,حي مصر القديمه ,حي الجماليه).

استبيان لقياس صورته و هويته المكان من وجهه نظر سكان القاهره التاريخيه

القسم	
التاريخ	
العنوان	

- 1- عمرك اكثر من 18 سنه؟(علم علي الاجابه المناسبه)
- نعم (في حاله الاجابه بنعم من فضلك كمل الي السؤال الثاني)
- لا (في حاله الاجابه بلا ليست هناك حاجة لاستكمال الاستبيان . شكرا لك على اهتمامك).

- 2-هل انت من سكان القاهره التاريخيه؟(علم علي الاجابه المناسبه)
- نعم (في حاله الاجابه بنعم من فضلك كمل الي السؤال الثالث)
- لا (في حاله الاجابه بلا, اين تسكن؟)

3-ازاي تقيم القاهره التاريخيه في النقط الاتيه؟(من فضلك ضع علامه في الخانه اللي شايفها مناسبه)

	جدا	معقول	محايد	معقول	جدا	
ودي						ودي
مش نظيف						نظيف
مش امان						امان
ممل						مسلي
ليس به صيانه						به صيانه
مجهود						يسبب الاسترخاء
غير رومانسي						رومانسي
مكان كسول						نشيط
مزعج						هادي
قديم						جديد
مش صحي						صحي
غير متعلم						متعلم
متدهور						يتحسن
بسيط						متطور

4- بقالك كام سنه عايش في القاهره التاريخيه؟ (من فضلك ضع علامه علي الاختيار المناسب)

- اقل من 5 سنوات
- من 5 الي 10 سنوات
- من 10 الي 20 سنه
- من 20 الي 30 سنه
- اكثر من 30 سنه

5- أي فئة تعبر عن وضع عملك ؟ (يرجى وضع علامة علي الإجابة المناسبة)

- ☐ يعمل
☐ لا يعمل
☐ معاش
☐ ربه منزل

في حاله العمل اذكر المهنة

المهنة بالتفصيل:

محل العمل:

6- النوع (يرجى وضع علامة بجانب الاجابه المناسبه)

- ☐ ذكر
☐ أنثى

7. ما هي فئتك العمريه (السن) ؟ (يرجى وضع علامة بجانب الاجابه المناسبه)

- ☐ 25 - 18
☐ 35 - 26
☐ 45 - 36
☐ 55 - 46
☐ +56

8. ما هي حالتك الاجتماعيه؟ (يرجى وضع علامة بجانب الإجابة المناسبة)

- ☐ اعزب
☐ متزوج / لا تعول ابناء
☐ متزوج / تعول ابناء
☐ ارمل
☐ مطلق

9- أين ولدت ؟ (يرجى وضع علامة الإجابة المناسبة)

- ☐ الدرب الأحمر
☐ الجمالية
☐ الخليفة
☐ أخرى : يرجى ذكر ايين

10. ما مدى رضاك عن المعيشه في القاهرة التاريخية؟ (يرجى وضع علامة الإجابة المناسبة)

راضي جدا	نسبيا راضي	محايد	نسبيا غير راضي	مستاء
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

11 - ايه اكثر حاجه بتحبها في القاهره التاريخيه؟

12- ايه اكثر حاجه بتضايقك في القاهره التاريخيه؟

13. تفتكر الناس اللي عايشين بره منطقه القاهره التاريخيه شايفين المنطقه ازاي في كا ناحيه من النواحي الاتيه في الجدول؟ (يرجى وضع علامه في المربع الذي تعتبره الانسب)

	جدا	معقول	محايد	معقول	جدا	
مش ودي						ودي
مش نظيف						نظيف
مش امان						امان
ممل						مسلي
ليس به صيانه						به صيانه
مجهد						يسبب الاسترخاء
غير رومانسي						رومانسي
كسول						نشط
مزعج						هادي
قديم						جديد
مش صحي						صحي
غير متعلم						متعلم
متدهور						يتحسن
بسيط						متطور

14- بصفة عامة من فضلك قل لي إلى أي مدى توافق أو لا توافق مع هذه العبارات
(يرجى وضع علامة في المربع الذي تعتبره الأنسب)

لا اوافق بشده	لا اوافق	محايد	اوافق	اوافق بشده	
					1. انا علي علم بان هذا المكان هو موقع للتراث العالمي
					2. المنطقه اللي انا عايش فيها كان فيها مشاريع تطوير
					3. سبق ان حضرت حملات توعيه عن تراث المنطقه
					4. المنطقه اللي انا عايش فيها بتهتم بيها وسائل الاعلام
					5. وجود الاجانب و السياح مهم للمنطقه
					6. المنطقه بقت احسن من زمان بعد المشاريع اللي حصلت عليها
					7. عندي الرغبه اني افضل عايش في المنطقه
					8. تراث المنطقه يعتبر من العوامل التي ستساعد في تطويرها
					9. مشاريع الحفاظ علي التراث ساعدت المنطقه اقتصاديا
					10. اصحاب المحلات اكثر المستفيدين من مشروعات التطوير
					11. اسعار العقارات و الاراضي ارتفعت بسبب المشاريع دي
					12. في تحسن عام في المناطق اللي اتطورت
					13. معظم المشاريع ركزت علي التراث المعماري و المباني
					14. اتمني شخصيا انهم يطوروا الحي بتاعي
					15. بصفه عامه المنطقه اتحسننت بعد المشاريع دي
					16. انا شخصيا استفدت من المشاريع دي
					17. انا حضرت انشطه نظمت في المنطقه
					18. بقي في انشطه للأسر بعد المشاريع دي
					19. بقي في اماكن افضل للفسح و الترفيه مع بعد المشاريع دي
					20. بعد انتهاء المشاريع دي المنطقه بقت العيشه فيها احسن
					21. في احتياج لمشاريع لخدمه سكان المنطقه

15- في رأيك ما هي أفضل إمكانيات المكان؟

- الأسواق
- الخدمات
- التقاليد و الروابط الاسريه
- غيره _____
- الاثار و المباني
- الموقع
- الناس
- الاكلات و المطاعم
- الحرف اليدويه

16- هل العلامات دي شفتها قبل كده؟



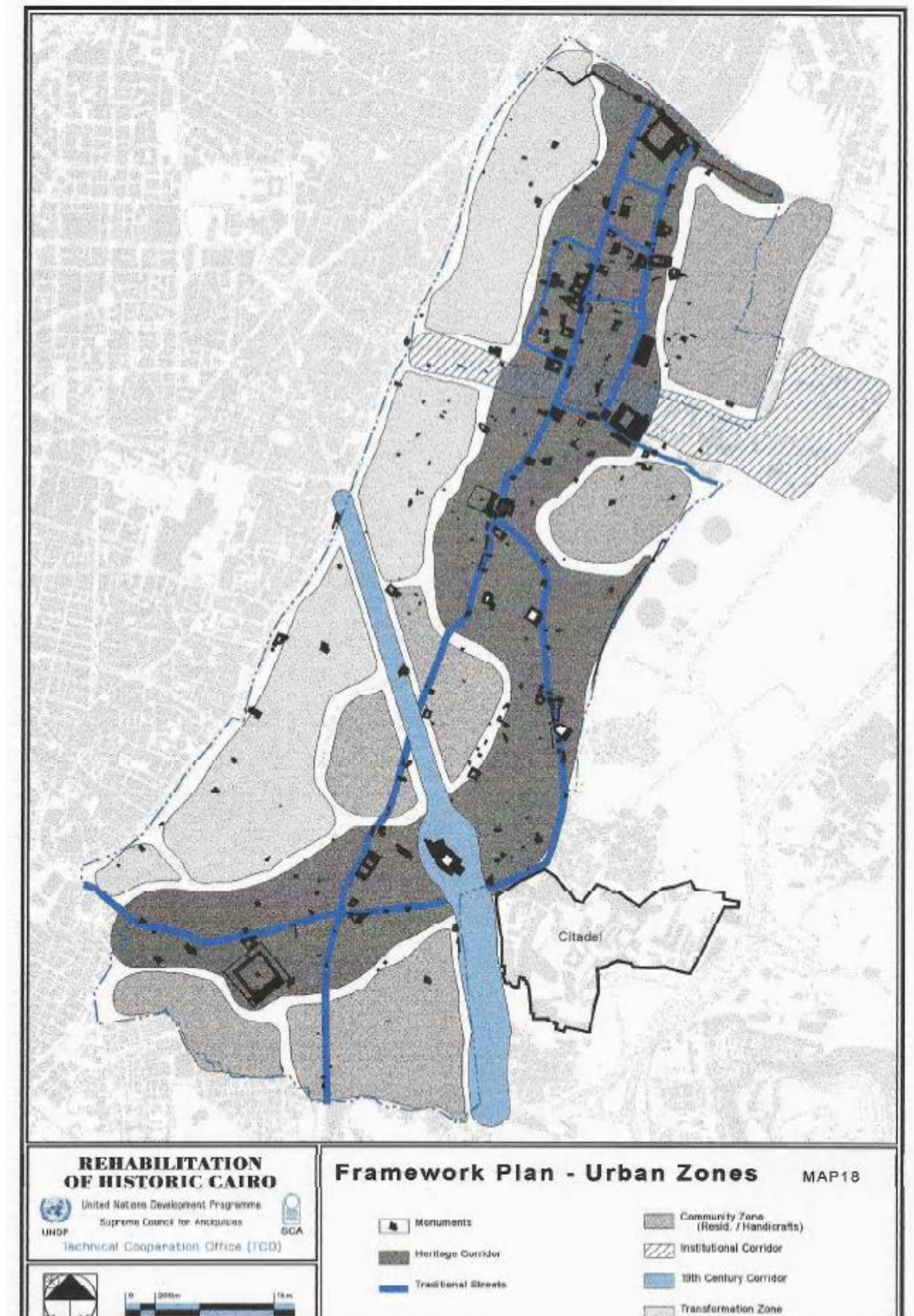
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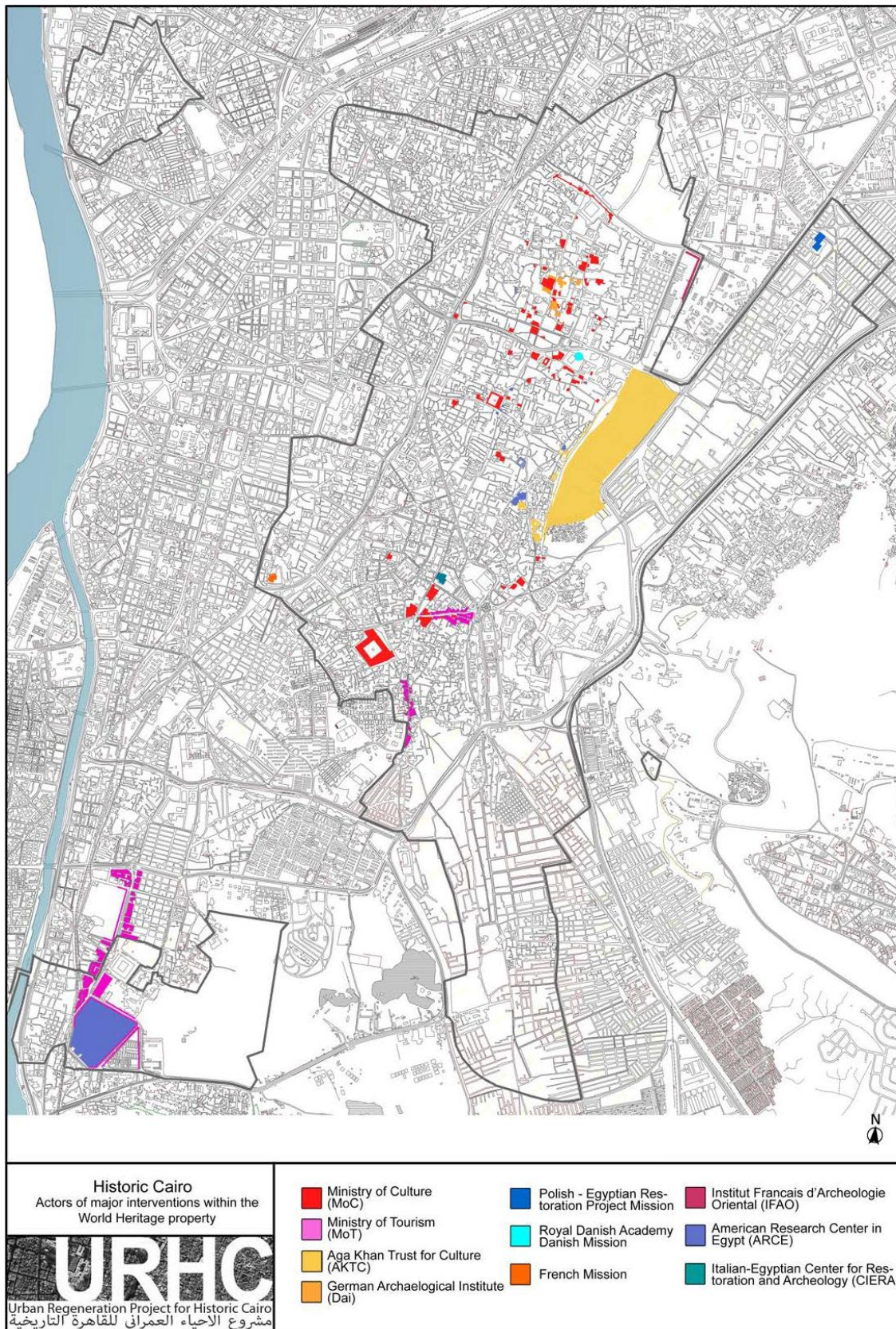
اسم الباحث /
اسم المشرف /
ملاحظ

8.6 Maps of Historic Cairo

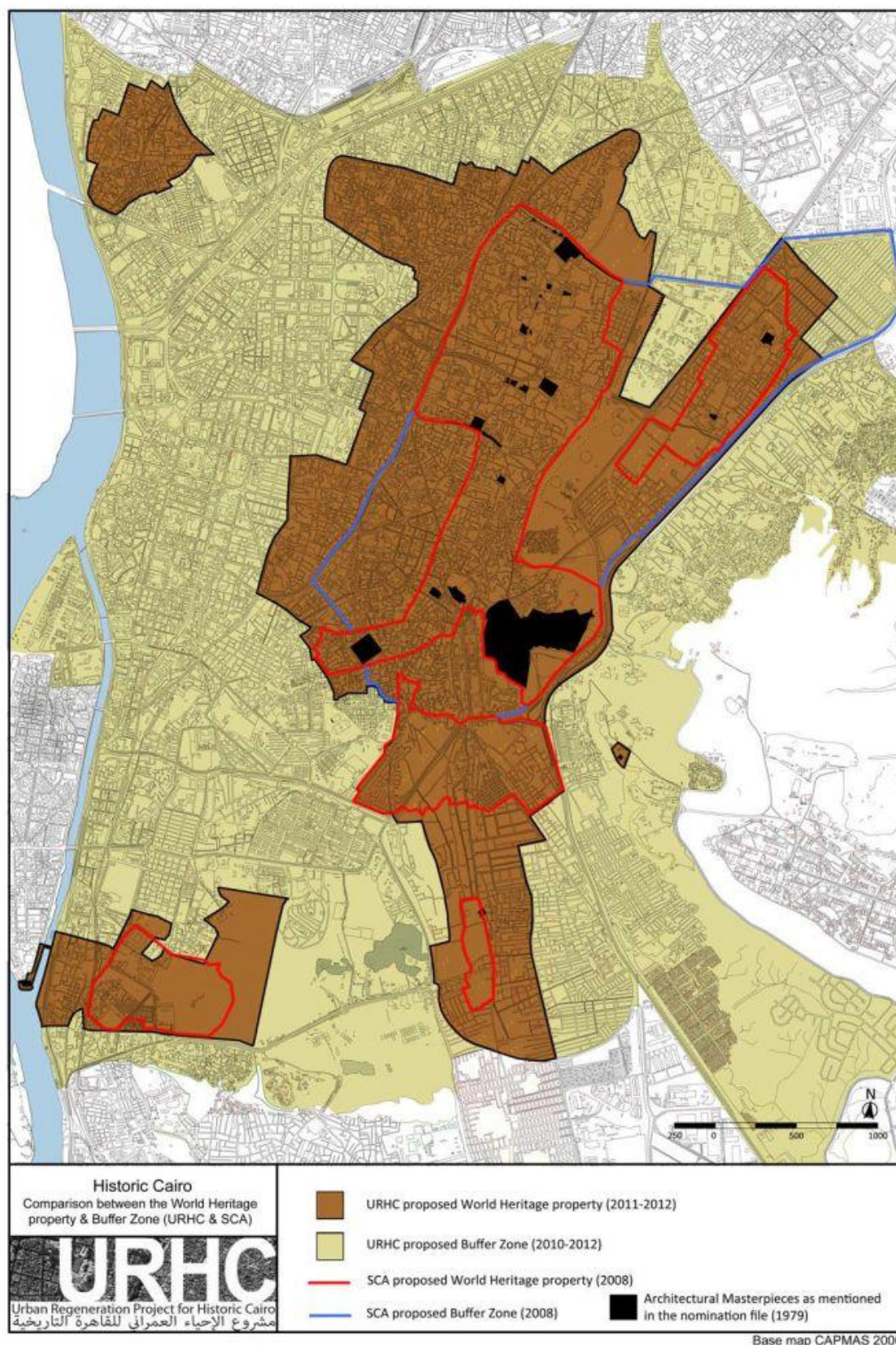
Urban Rehabilitation Project of Historic Cairo, Urban Zones Map



Main actors and location of intervention within Historic Cairo



Comparing delimitation of Historic Cairo (URHC and SCA maps)



Modification of the urban fabric 1807-2006

